A 'Rupture Backwards': The Re-emergence of Shamanic Sensibilities Amongst the Russian Avant-Garde from 1900-1933.

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ABSTRACT

This PhD examines the re-emergence of shamanic sensibilities amongst the Russian avant-garde in the period 1900-1933, focusing on the artists Larionov, Goncharova, Malevich, Filonov and Kandinsky. It considers how these pioneering artists, having anticipated Jung's crisis of psychic dislocation, were perhaps inspired by the ideology, iconography, ritualistic practice and mystical symbolism inherent in shamanism and other associated phenomena. Shamanism was chosen as the theme as it was Jung's quintessential metaphor for the process towards psychic reunification. The thesis analyses how the artists utilised parallel conceptions in their work in order to attempt to bring about the reunification of the consciousness, both on a visual level in their pictorial imagery, and on a more subtle level through referencing psychological or philosophical principles which may lead to the manifestation of an experience arguably similar to those common in the practice of 'primitive' cultures. The thesis attempts to take the reader on a metaphorical shamanic journey, through focusing on four aspects which parallel those found in shamanic practice in the stages that they occur to the neophyte. Firstly, it considers the concept of *dvoeverie*, a painterly principle relying on the conflation of pagan and religious imagery, and how its artistic expression might equate to Jungian archetypal expression. Secondly, it discusses how the avant-garde re-defined the role of the artist so that the artistic figure might parallel Jung's metaphorical shaman, and how they began assuming an archetypal role. Thirdly, it examines how these artists began to express a sense of escapism, in an attempt to express Jungian collective archetypes metaphorically expressed in the 'soul-journey', through referencing ecstatic and mystical practises frequently utilised to facilitate ritual, through creating a sense of transcendent voyage, and through visually attempting to express the experience of cosmic noumena. Finally, the journey culminates in the examination of how the avant-garde adopted the ultimate Jungian telos of cosmic psychic healing. Throughout this discussion, the thesis attempts to understand why these artists might have been inspired by shamanic and mystical philosophies, through interpreting their practise using a Jungian framework, arguing that it was the artists' perception of Jung's crisis of psychic dislocation that inspired the re-emergence of shamanic sensibilities to provide a visual metaphor for the expression of their overall social and ameliorative aims.

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Fig. 140. Vatagin: *Bear, Tiger, Boar, Wolf, wooden statuettes of the Gilyaki people, Nizhnii Amur* (1927). Pencil & watercolour on paper, 29.6x41. 7cm. Moscow, Museum of the Stroganov State University of Industrial Art.

Fig. 141. Malevich: *Woman at Prayer* (1910-11). Pencil on paper, 18.6x14.2cm. St. Petersburg, State Russian Museum.

Fig. 142. Markov: Shamanic wooden sculptures photographed at the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg (early 1910s). Photographs from original negatives in the collection of the National Library of Latvia, Riga.

Fig. 143. Nivkhi (Gilyak) people, Eastern Siberia, Island of Sakhalin: *Proprietary Spirit of the House.* Wood, 31x12 x11cm. St. Petersburg, Russian Museum of Ethnography, inv. no. 5169-11. Viktor Vasilev Expedition, 1910-1911.

Fig. 144. Malevich: *Head* (1928-29). Oil on canvas, 61x41cm. St. Petersburg, State Russian Museum.

Fig. 145. Khanty (Ostiak) people: *Protector Spirit for Hunting and Fishing.* Birchwood, 171x22x14cm. St. Petersburg, Russian Museum of Ethnography, inv. no. 1711-511. Sergei Rudenko Expedition, 1909-1910.

Fig. 146. Khanty (Ostiak) people, Tobolsk Province, Western Siberia: Hunting & fishing guardian spirit carved into the bark of a birch. Sergei Rudenko Expedition, 1909-1910. Documentary photograph. St. Petersburg, Russian Museum of Ethnography, inv. no. 1706-138.

Fig. 147. Matiushin: *Primitive Man* (1913). Original photograph by the artist. Kolomna, Museum of Organic Culture.

Fig. 148. Koryak people, Kamchatka: *Protector Spirit of the Family* (early 20th century). Wood, skin, pearls, 24x32x6cm. St. Petersburg, Russian Museum of Ethnography, inv. no. 8761-1012 8 D2. Vladimir Iokhelson Expedition, 1909-1910.

Fig. 149. Goncharova: *Women going to Church* (1910-1911). Oil on canvas, 99.5x69.3cm. Private Collection.

Fig. 150. Kandinsky: *Sunday (Old Russia)* (c. 1904). Tempera on cardboard, 23x54.7cm. Paris, Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou.

Fig. 151. Goncharova: *Peasant Women: Willow Sunday* (1910). Oil on canvas, 99.7x70.7cm. Berlin-Zurich, Russian Avant-Garde Art Foundation.

Fig. 152. Kandinsky: Sketch for the series of paintings on the theme '*Sunday (Old Russia)'* (c. 1904-1907). Pencil in sketchbook, 19.8x12.5cm. Munich, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus.

Fig. 153. Malevich: *Head of a Peasant* (1928-1932). Oil on plywood, 71.7x53.8cm. St. Petersburg, State Russian Museum.

Fig. 154. Ulchi peoples, Eastern Siberia: *Proprietary Spirit of the Mountains and the Woods* (late 19th – early 20th century). Wood, h. 93cm, diameter 15cm. St. Petersburg, Russian Museum of Ethnography, inv. no. 8761-9414. Aleksandr Zolotorev Amur Expedition, 1931.

Fig. 155. Goncharova: *Sunflowers* (1910). Oil on canvas, 96.5x96.5cm. Formerly collection of Noël Barber, London. Current location unknown.

Fig. 156. Filonov: *Victory over Eternity* (1920-21). Oil on plywood, 41x37.5cm. St. Petersburg, State Russian Museum.

Fig. 157. Larionov: *The Seasons* (1912): *Spring* (top right). Oil on canvas, 142x118cm. Moscow, State Tretiakov Gallery; *Summer* (bottom right). Oil on canvas, 136x115cm. Private Collection; *Autumn* (bottom left). Oil on canvas, 138x117cm. Paris, Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou; *Winter* (top left). Oil on canvas, 100x123.3cm Moscow, State Tretiakov Gallery.

Fig. 158. Sacred Buriat Drawing depicting Tengeri Spirits. Recorded by Khangalov in *Sketchbook 36*: 1064. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum.

Fig. 159. Nanai (Goldi) People, Eastern Siberia: *Shamanic Drawing*. Fabric, dyes, 80x78cm. St. Petersburg, Russian Museum of Ethnography, inv. no. 8762-18191. Petr Shimkevich Expedition, 1896-1897.

Fig. 160. Malevich: *Future 'Planit' for Leningrad. Pilot's House* (1924). Graphite on paper, 30.5x45cm. Current location unknown.

TRANSLITERATION STYLE:

The transliteration system adopted throughout the thesis is that of the Library of Congress but with the following ammendments. In the case of proper nouns I have retained familiar Western forms of transliteration where they exist. The adjectival suffix *ii* is rendered *y*, for example *Kandinskii* is rendered *Kandinsky*, and the soft sign is sometimes rendered as *i* where there is a more acceptable form, for example, *Griror'ev* is rendered *Grigoriev*. Where there is not such familiarity I have retained the Library of Congress system. In transliterating the suffix of female names, where the Library of Congress system would suggest *iia* I have transliterated it simply as *ia*, for example, *Mariia* is rendered *Maria*, and *Nataliia* becomes *Natalia*. All titles of Russian publications are given in transilerated form but will be translated in the first instance. In nineteenth century Russian ethnographic literature the names used to identify ethnic groupings in the East of the Empire were used both in an indiscriminate way and on occasion in a derogatory way. The names of certain ethnographic groupings, for example, the Samoyeds, have in the twentieth century been replaced by more precise and less offensive identifying terms, such as the Nenets. However, a good deal of the literature with which this dissertation deals employs the original outmoded terminology. Therefore, alternative names for specific ethnic groupings will be provided in brackets. The current terminology employed will be used and the terms used in the contemporary nineteenth century literature will be given in parentheses.

Transliteration Table

Russian Vernacular Romanization Upper case letters	Vernacular Romanization Lower case letters
А A	а a
Б B	б b
В V	в v
Г G	г g

Д D	д d
Е E	е e
Ж Zh	ж zh
З Z	з z
И I	и i
К K	к k
Л L	л l
М M	м m
Н N	н n
О O	о o
П P	п p
Р R	р r
С S	с s
Т T	т t
У U	у u
Ф F	ф f
Х Kh	х kh
Ц Ts	ц ts
Ч Ch	ч ch
Ш Sh	ш sh
Щ Shch	щ shch
Ы Y	ы y
Э Ė	э ė

Ю Iu	ю iu
Я Ia	я ia

To Mum, who encouraged me to embark upon the journey.

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My research could not have been accomplished without visiting external museums and galleries. In this regard, I must thank the staff and research team at the Tate Modern, the Musée National d'Art Moderne, the National Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum, the British library, and the Palazzo Strozzi, for allowing me access to both their art works and their extensive archives. A particular thanks must be given to Professor John Bowlt, Dr Nicoletta Misler and Dr Eugenia Petrova for allowing me special access to their exhibition: *The Russian avant-garde Siberia and the East*, and for aiding me with their extensive research. Moreover, Dr Jeremy Howard must be thanked for assisting me specifically with research into Filonov.

A note of personal thanks must go to my Dad who made this opportunity possible and, of course, to my Mum, for her un-ending support and encouragement. Also to Sophie and James, with whom many ideas were discussed at length, and finally, to Mark, not only for his technological aid with images, but for everything, a special thanks to him.

INTRODUCTION:

Early twentieth-century Russian art was "forged through the extension of both outer and inner borders".[1] Thus the curators of the recent *Russian Avant-Garde: Siberia and the East* defined their start point for the exhibition. It is exactly this concept that this PhD will seek to address. It will explore the ways in which the Russian avant-garde may be seen to have deployed shamanic sensibilities as a means of plumbing the Eastern and Western depths of their Eurasian identity, and how their artistic expression ultimately came from a need to tackle a psychic dislocation. The thesis will take the form of the journey of the shamanic neophyte, understanding avant-garde reasoning in the period 1900-1933 via a Jungian perspective, and allowing each chapter to emblematise certain aspects of the shamanic process. First it will consider the neophyte's initial experience upon encountering the unconscious archaic language of nature, via the avant-garde's expression of *dvoeverie*, a painterly principle which evoked the fundamental universal spiritualism, illustrated in shamanic and other mystical imagery, required in unconscious archetypal expression. Then it will examine the initiate's acceptance of his newfound mystical role, how the artist transformed himself into the Jungian metaphorical 'shaman', the quintessential 'archetype of transcendence', via his experience of ecstatic and didactic initiation, and how he perhaps began to symbolically 'shamanise' through his art. Following this, it will examine how the avant-garde metaphorically embarked upon a form of soul-journey similar to that experienced by a shaman, imbuing their art with the psychic power to incite ecstatic ritual and transcendence, their expression of this through mystical voyage, and through allegorical representations of the unconscious cosmic realms. Finally it will culminate in the artist's ultimate telos, universal psychic healing and the actualisation of cosmic equilibrium, a telos expressed through psychologically permeating their art with a medicinal philanthropic capacity. In this manner mystical shamanic aspects are explored and discussed in relation to these artists as a group as part of a wider attempt to achieve psychological holism.

This is a subject that apart from its recent treatment in the Florentine exhibition has never been thoroughly studied as a generic theme in Russian modernism, and certainly has not been related to Jungian psychology. Whilst the shamanic theme has been picked up by certain art historians in relation to specific case studies or artists, it has not as yet been examined as a generic theme, and thus this thesis is innovative, for it shows how shamanic sensibilities were

[1] Quoted in L. Bini-Smaghi, (2013). Introduction to *The Russian Avant-Garde Siberia and the East,* edited by J. Bowlt, N. Misler & E. Petrova. Skira, Florence: un-paginated.

relevant to the artists of the Russian avant-garde as a whole, how they mediated them through their art work, and it attempts to answer why this should be the case. It does this in a comparative manner from a thematic perspective and under a Jungian guise. Shamanic sensibilities are focussed on in this thesis, as a visual expression of the psychological aims required by these artists, as Jung himself argued that the practise of shamanism was a quintessential metaphor for the process towards psychic reunification, and thus shamanic sensibilities appear to be the appropriate visual metaphor for the avant-garde's attempt to actualise psychological holism.[2]

Shamanism can be defined as an anthropological and ethnical religious spiritualism based on the importance of the mystical and healing power of the shaman.[3] The term 'shaman' is derived from the Tungus-Mongol word 'saman', which is formed from the Indo-European verb-root, sa-, meaning "to know", and was first used to identify a religious specialist from Siberia.[4] [5] Thus the term has the literal meaning of "the one who knows."[6] It can also be defined as "ecstatic one," illustrating a visionary who journeys to the other-worlds on behalf of his people. The word 'shaman' is not a culturally fixed term, but has been used almost interchangeably with, 'sorcerer', 'medicine-man', 'magician' and 'witch-doctor', especially where these figures have been acting outside the mainstream of institutionalised religions.[7] The shaman himself is perhaps best described as an omniscient figure who assumes the role of intercessor between humankind and the supernatural powers. He is required to directly communicate with the spirits and enact certain forms of divination, during which he receives information and guidance from the spirits concerning past, present and future events.[8] In his assumption of this role the shaman utilises 'altered-states-of-consciousness', or 'techniques of ecstasy', the so-called shamanic soul journey, in order to interact with the spirit world on behalf of his community.[9] Having accomplished his soul-journey he is expected to deliver oracles to his people based on the information gleaned

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[2] J. Henderson, (1964). "Ancient Myths and Modern Man". In *Man and his Symbols,* edited by C. Jung. Doubleday, London: 147

[3] M. Ripinsky-Naxon, (1993). *The Nature of Shamanism: Substance and Function of a Religious Metaphor*. State University of New York Press, New York: 105.

[4] On the etymology of the word 'shaman' see B. Laufer, (1917). "Origin of the Word Shaman," *American Anthropologist*. Vol. 19: 361-71; N. Mironov & S. Shirokogoroff, (1924). "Sramana-Shaman: Etymology of the Word "Shaman", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Vol. 55: 105-30.

[5] C.f. P. Vitebsky, (1995). *The Shaman: Voyages of the Soul, Trance, Ecstasy and Healing from Siberia to the Amazon.* Duncan Baird, London.

[6] Ripinsky-Naxon, (1993): 69; M. Eliade, (1964). *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*. Princeton University Press, Princeton; N. Drury, (1989). *The Elements of Shamanism*. Element, Dorset: 4.

[7] Vitebsky, (1995): 6.

[8] Drury, (1989): 1, 6; M. Winkelman, (2000). *Shamanism: The Neural Ecology of Consciousness and Healing*. Praeger, Westport: 57.

[9] C.f. Eliade, (1964).

from the spirit world. Shamanism is also defined by its cosmological conception; it advocates that the universe has a tripartite structure, divided between heavenly, earthly and chthonic realms, all of which the shaman in a state of ritual ecstasy can access.[10] Finally, the fundamental telos of the shamanic phenomenon, its *raison d'être*, is a holistic one, the healing of society through the establishment of universal health and well-being, and ultimately through the actualisation of equilibrium in the community and by extension in the cosmos itself.[11] Many anthropologists have regarded the shamanic phenomenon from a psychological perspective, advocating that such fantastical conceptions must be allegorical to the experience of an inner healing of the psyche.[12] Moreover, shamanism was seen as a metaphor for Jung's process of psychic healing via the reunification of the consciousness, and it is, this thesis will argue, in the avant-garde's anticipation of this interpretation that shamanic sensibilities appealed, for they provided them with quintessential visual metaphors with which to express their psycho-social aims.

Throughout this thesis we will be using the terms 'shamanic sensibility', 'shamanic sensibilities' and 're-emergence', and thus it is important for the sake of clarity to define them at the outset. The term 'sensibility' comes from the Latin *sensibilitas* (that which is perceived), and is a term of relatively recent origin in the English language rarely used before the mid-18th century. The term may be used in a variety of ways: in a physiological sense to describe the ability of an organ or tissue to respond to sensory stimuli; in a philosophical sense indicating the power or faculty of feeling, the capacity of sensation and emotion as distinguished from condition and will; in a psychological sense referring to the mental perception or awareness of something, the quickness or acuteness of apprehension or feeling; in an emotional sense expressing the quality of being easily and strongly affected by emotional influences, etymologically connecting to the terms 'sensitivity' and 'sensitiveness'; in a moral sense describing the emotional capacity or consciousness of a person's conduct or condition, and in a literary sense indicating the capacity for refined emotions.[13] In this thesis we will be using the term 'sensibility' in the philosophical, psychological and emotional senses of the term. More specifically, concerning the discussion of 'shamanic sensibilities', this thesis will employ the term 'sensibility' chiefly in relation to its emotional and psychological meanings. We will use the term 'sensibility' to identify the Russian avant-garde's possible subjective perceptions and responses to shaman-related phenomena in

[10] Ripinsky-Naxon, (1993): 119.
[11] C.f. Eliade, (1964); Drury, (1989):1.
[12] R. Ridington, & T. Ridington, (1970). "The Inner Eye of Shamanism and Totemism". *History of Religions*. Vol. 10, No. 1: 51; Ripinsky-Naxon, (1993): 113.
[13] 'Sensibility' as defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary*; http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/175969.

relation to their wider 'outlook' and 'worldview' at a time of impelling historical circumstance. The term 'Re-emergence' comes from the Latin *re-emergere* (to rise up from), and is defined as "the action, condition, or process of re-emerging."[14] In this thesis we will be using the term to refer to the process of psychological re-emergence, i.e sensations arising from the consciousness. The terms will often be used in conjunction with one another to suggest the notion that shaman-related sensibilities were somehow embedded in the consciousness' of these artists, 're-emerging' under certain socio-cultural conditions and were then potentially projected in an aesthetic or literary manner.

This thesis will examine the work of five Russian artists; Mikhail Larionov, Natalia Goncharova, Wassily Kandinsky, Kazimir Malevich and Pavel Filonov. Although there is some evidence of the re-emergence of shamanic sensibilities in the work of other members of the Russian avant-garde, these artists appear to be the main protagonists concerned with this phenomenon, with their art work demonstrating several parallels with shamanic and mystical ideology and iconography, and with their creativity resounding with the strongest yearning for psychic reunification via the appreciation of their aesthetic. In order to justify and to demonstrate the claim that the Russian avant-garde's artistic works in this period are imbued with mystical ideology and iconography paralleling that found in the shamanic phenomenon as a means of addressing psychological reunification, it is important to accept that they were not practising in a cultural vacuum, and thus we must ascertain the context of these artists' ethnographic and psychological interests and inspirations.[15] This context provides a dense body of research concerning Russia's rich, archaic, ethnographic heritage. Moreover, the avant-garde's work spans a period of great social and cultural upheaval, where artists, poets and philosophers had begun to lose faith in modernity, disillusioned by Enlightenment values, and there began to be what Margarita Tupitsyn has termed a 'rupture backward', an elevation of all things culturally and aesthetically 'primitive', a yearning of unconscious assimilation and expression.[16]

A significant interest in Russia's cultural heritage began during the reign of Peter the Great, when the Russian Academy of Sciences embarked upon a vast ethnographical and archaeological exploration of Siberia, examining all aspects of its peoples from tribal to ritual and spiritual, in an attempt to find the source of its people's cultural and historical identity through the procurement of anthropological and ethnographic information and artefacts. This culminated

[14] 'Re-emergence' as defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary*; http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/247430.
[15] Examples of artists interested in the shamanic phenomenon include: David Burliuk, Maria Siniakova, Vladimir Tatlin, Olga Rozanova and Nikolai Rerikh.
[16] M. Tupitsyn, (1933). "Collaborating on the Paradigm of the Future". *Art Journal.* Vol. 52, No. 4: 19.

in the opening of Russia's first public museum, the Kunstkammer, which displayed a vast array of artefacts belonging to the Tsar, largely connected to Siberia and its peoples.[17] However, it was not until the mid-nineteenth century that interest in archaeology and ethnography really began its rapid escalation in Russia. In 1843 the Archaeological Society of St Petersburg was founded focusing on Russia's archaeological heritage and backed by the establishment of the Hermitage Museum founded by the Imperial Archaeological Commission, which undertook excavations in order to provide specific evidence of Russia's archaic past. Evidence was found in 1871 when at Poltava and Irkutsk two Palaeolithic sites were discovered, decisively proving that Russia had a prehistoric heritage.[18] Pioneering these ethnographic studies were the Imperial Society of Friends of Natural Science, Anthropology and Ethnography which was founded in 1863 in Moscow, and the Imperial Russian Geographical Society based in St Petersburg. During the 1870s these institutions began to focus their attention on the religious and social cultures of the primitive Siberian tribes, such as the Buriat, Nenets (Samoyeds), Evenk (Tungus) and Sakha (Yakut), who inhabited the Mongolian border and whose primary, spiritual focus was rooted in the shamanic phenomenon. It was in Siberia and parts of Central Asia that the shamanic phenomenon was first witnessed and documented by early travellers, and it was in these areas that it enjoyed its most widespread manifestation.[19] The most immediate result of these explorations was the discovery of a vast number of evocative and extraordinary shamanic artefacts, which provided retrospective illumination into the historical development of the ethnic groups which encompassed the Russian Empire. These objects enriched the popular museums of Moscow and St Petersburg, and consequently, the cultural origins and ancient ideological practises of Russia's multi-faceted ethnicities were accessible to the avant-garde, and would subsequently prove influential on the formation of their modernist aesthetic.

By the early twentieth-century in Russia an extensive ethnographic literature on shamanism had come to fruition. The first major study, written by Shashkov, was published in 1864, which led to at least a hundred significant studies appearing in the 1880s and 1890s relating to Siberian shamanism, particularly that of the Buriats, Nanai (Goldi), Mongols and Sakha (Yakuts), for example, Mikhailovski's *On Shamanism* (1892), and Kharuzin's study on Russian Lapps, *Russkie Lopari* (1890), which it will be shown appeared to inspire certain aspects of

[17] E. Thompson, (1987). *Understanding Russia: The Holy Fool in Russian Culture*. University Press of America, London: 98.
[18] A. Znamenski, (1960). *Shamanism and Christianity: Native Encounters with Russian Orthodox Missions in Siberia and Alaska, 1820-1917*. Greenwood Press, London.
[19] A. Parton, (1993). *Mikhail Larionov and the Russian Avant-Garde*. Thame & Hudson, London: 96, 102.

Kandinsky's artistic vocabulary in this period.[20] [21] Moreover, such studies were backed by extensive reference works on Russian antiquities, such as the six volume tome by Kondakov, a collection which the artist Larionov himself owned, as can be seen in the archival records of his library.[22] The transcripts of the Imperial Society of the Friends of Natural Science, Anthropology and Ethnography covered sixty volumes at this point. In addition, the avant-garde's immediate contemporaries, such as Czaplicka and Konovalov, were publishing works on the subject, including Czaplicka's *Aboriginal Siberia: A Study in Social Anthropology* (1914), and Konovalov's *Religious Ecstasy in Russian Mystical Sectarianism* (1908).[23] At the turn of the century several expeditions took place investigating the culture and heritage of the Siberian tribes, which evidenced eye-witness accounts of shamanic *kamlanie,* and provided detailed descriptions of its fundamental ideology and practises, including its assimilation into the modern context, for example, the hybridisation of shamanism and Buddhism.[24] [25] Such expeditions resulted in increased press interest on the shamanic subject. For example, in March 1910, *Birzhevyia vedomosti [Stock Exchange News]* serialised an essay entitled 'Spiritualism and Shamanism', taken from an account by a member of the Turzhansk expedition.[26] Consequently, the Russian avant-garde had access to an array of research relating specifically to the shamanic phenomenon. This does not undeniably prove that they utilised such sources in their *oeuvres*. However, the fact that several of the artists owned significant studies on shamanism certainly attests to their interest in this phenomenon.

Contemporary artistic circles began to respond to this surge in archaeological and ethnographical discoveries. The Symbolist movement, for example, as well as Diaghilev's World of Art, examined these findings and employed them in their artistic works. As early as 1907 we have artists such as Grigorii Choros-Gurkin executing works specifically on shamanic subjects, for example, his work depicting an Altai shaman, *Baichiiak, the Shaman,* (Fig. 1). Modern artists

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[20] S. Shashkov, (1864). *Shamanstvo v Sibiri [Shamanism in Siberia]*. Morichegovskogo, St Petersburg.
[21] On Kandinsky's inspiration see P. Weiss, (1995). *Kandinsky and Old Russia: The Artist as Ethnographer and Shaman*. Yale University Press, New Haven: 30; for examples of further shamanic studies see the bibliographies in M. Czaplicka, (1914). *Aboriginal Siberia: A Study in Social Anthropology*. Clarendon Press, Oxford; and Eliade, (1964).
[22] N. Kondakov & Count I. I. Tolstoy, (1889-1899). *Russkiia drevnosti v pamiatnikakh i iskusstva [Russian Monuments in Antiquity and Art]*. A. Benke Print, St Petersburg, Larionov's copies of Vols. II-VI are in the National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
[23] Khangalov is an interesting figure for he was a known practitioner of shamanism belonging to the Buriat tribe.
[24] Kamlanie can be defined as the "special ritual activities of the shaman during which he appears to communicate with the spirits." J. Krueger, ed., (1963). *Bolshaya sovetskaya entsiklopedia [Great Soviet Encyclopedia]*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.
[25] V. Gorbacheva, (2013). "Russian Expeditions to Siberia". In *The Russian Avant-Garde Siberia and the East,* edited by J. Bowlt, N. Misler and E. Petrova. Skira, Florence: 65-6; J. Bowlt, N. Misler & E. Petrova, (2013b). "Fire and Ice". In *The Russian Avant-Garde Siberia and the East*, edited by J. Bowlt, N. Misler & E. Petrova. Skira, Florence: 22.
[26] V. Anuchin, (1910). "Spiritizm i shamanizm" ["Spiritualism and Shamanism"]. *Birzhevyia vedomosti [Stock Exchange News]*. March 19th. No. 11622: 3.

were beginning to draw elements of shamanism into their work. Artists such as Rerikh utilised distinctly shamanic source material for his contribution to the ballet *Le Sacre du Printemps [The Rite of Spring]* (1913), where he drew on the archaic vestiges of culture, and the role of 'soothsayers' or shamans.[27] Vladimir Markov was the first art critic to reproduce photographs of shamanic ritualistic idols, although outside of their ethnographic context, these photographs inspired his own work, provided source material for the contemporary avant-garde, and supplemented the numerous collections of ethnographic photographs of shamans and their rituals.[28] Thus as early as 1911 we can see that several preeminent members of the nascent Russian avant-garde had an interest in the shamanic phenomenon. In January 1911 the Union of Youth organised their 'Khoromnyia deistviia' (Mansions Scenes), an evening of spectacular entertainments, one of the highlights being 'shamanic round dances', which were reported to have delighted the audience.[29] Outside of visual representations, the prominent members of the Russian Futurist literature circle, Kruchenykh and Khlebnikov, developed their trans-rational zaum, a beyond-sense language whose stimulus was to be found in the glossolalic sects of certain archaic and shamanic tribes. In 1912 Khlebnikov wrote his "Shaman i Venera" ["Shaman and Venus"], published in *Sadok sudei II [A Hatchery of Judges II]*, a poem which this thesis will later show appeared to inspire a series of Venus paintings by Larionov.[30] Furthermore, during this time Shklovsky reminisced that:

> "…a shaman was brought to the Historical Museum in Moscow…. He picked up his tambourine and cast his spells…he saw spirits and fell into an ecstasy. Then he left for Siberia, to cast some spells there".[31]

Thus it is evident that shamanism was becoming a phenomenon of popular interest during this period.

In this context the five members of the Russian avant-garde with whose work this thesis deals developed their own interaction with shamanism as part of a broader and eclectic use of 'primitive' sources. This thesis will argue that the artists came to a 'shaman-like' approach through the process of psychological emergence. Indeed, shamanic methods, archetypes and conceptions appear to be embedded in the artists' psyche and emerge as an unconscious response under certain conditions and as a means to achieve ameliorative psychic aims. For

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[27] C.f. J. Bowlt, (2013). "A Profound and Endless Space". In *The Russian Avant-Garde Siberia and the East,* edited by J. Bowlt, N. Misler and E. Petrova. Skira, Florence: 38.
[28] Bowlt, Misler & Petrova (2013b): 21-22.
[29] "Khoromnyia deistviia," was advertised in *Birzhevyia vedomosti [Stock Exchange News]*, 20th January 1911, No. 12132: 1, and was reviewed in *Sovremennoe slovo*, 29th January 1911, No. 1102: 4.
[30] Parton, (1993): 96-7, 102-3.
[31] V. Shklovsky, (1971). *Zoo or Letters Not About Love*. Cornell University Press, London: 33-34.

Mikhail Larionov, (1881-1964), a leading figure of the Russian avant-garde, his multi-faceted artistic language in part suggests the inspiration of the Buriat aesthetic. The artist owned a significant study of Buriat shamanism by the renowned ethnographer and practising shaman Khangalov, and Dr Anthony Parton has argued that Buriat sensibilities appear periodically throughout his *oeuvre*.[32] Khangalov's work describes fundamental aspects of Buriat shamanism, including the concept of 'soul-borrowing', and cites ancient tribal myths about the origins of Buriat shamans from the divine Tengeri spirits, subjects which do seem to appear in the iconography of certain Larionov works, and perhaps conceptually inspired the aspirations and experiences Larionov hoped to elicit from his art.[33] Both Larionov and Goncharova formed an increasing interest in archaeology and ethnography, an assessment of which is vital in our understanding of the formation of their Neo-primitive aesthetic. Their archaeological researches brought them to the study of ancient Greek and Roman mythologies, the transcendentalism behind icon objects, and spiritual, 'primitive' ontologies, including Siberian shamanism. These areas signified, for Larionov and Goncharova, the fundamental poles of western and eastern pagan spiritualism, and were vital in shaping the tapestry of Russia's rich cultural heritage, and thus were an essential part of their modernism. Indeed, Larionov and Goncharova utilised the visual imagery and ideological symbolism of these archaic sources to imbue their art with a 'primitive' significance.[34] This is perhaps best evidenced in Larionov's organisation of the *Exhibition of Original Icon Paintings and Lubki* in 1913, which he paired with his *Target Exhibition*, where he pioneered his and Goncharova's Rayist aesthetic, thereby imbuing their radical modernism with deeply 'primitive' and archaic overtones.

For Natalia Goncharova (1881-1962), a pioneer of Russian Neo-Primitivism, it would be from the growth in the culture of procuring artefacts that her interest in shamanism-related phenomena arose. This coupled with her need to adopt a spiritual persona which might facilitate psychological healing. Goncharova herself collected *kamennye baby*, stone guardians used to guard ancestral graves or entrances to the community, propitiated by shamans and found on the Mongolian steppes.[35] She visited museums enriched with symbolic idols, ritualistic objects, and contemporary photographs of shamanic practise. Her contemporaries, specifically the Burliuk

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[32] N. Khangalov, (1890). *Novye materialy o shamanstve u Buriat [New Materials on Buriat Shamanism]*. Volume 20. Part 2. Zapiski vostochno-sibirskago otdela imperatorskago Russkago Geograficheskago Obshchestva po Etnografii [East Siberian Department of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society of Ethnography]. Irkutsk. Larionov's copy is in National Art Library of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; c.f. Parton (1993).
[33] Parton, (1993): 96, 102-3.
[34] Ibid: 97, 102-3; E. Iliukhina, (2013). "Mikhail Larionov, Natal'ia Goncharova: Turning to the East". In *The Russian Avant-Garde Siberia and the East*, edited by J. Bowlt, N. Misler & E. Petrova. Skira, Florence: 119-120, 123.
[35] J. Sharp, (2006). *Russian Modernism between East and West: Natal'ia Goncharova and the Moscow Avant-Garde*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 160; Gorbacheva, (2013): 67.

brothers, were also known to own a number of *kamennye baby*. Goncharova appears to have been inspired by the mystical properties of the *kamennye baby* and arguably attempts to imbue her work with these same properties. She adopted a pious affiliation with Russian Orthodox Christianity, and began to conflate the conventions of the icon object with the aesthetics of shamanic idols.[36] At the same time she would formulate a peasant rhetoric infused with references to healing rituals similar to those found in shamanic societies in order to promote the values of social cohesion and spirituality she found lacking in the world of modernity. Finally, in the early 1900s she began to adopt a mystical perhaps shamanic persona, the Jungian metaphorical 'shaman', seen in her utilisation of her own body as a canvas to facilitate transcendence, in potentially the same manner that the shaman might don a costume infused with sacred symbols in order to traverse the cosmos.[37] For Goncharova her emergence as a shaman-like figure appears to be mainly for the purpose of effecting social psychological healing. Thus she appears to be inspired by shamanic artefacts and ideological concepts, conflating them with religious imagery, to create an ameliorative archetypal language, a therapeutic peasant rhetoric to depict her aspirations for modern society, and in culmination she uses her own body to facilitate the transcendence required to actualise the reunification of the consciousness.

For Wassily Kandinsky, (1866-1944), perhaps the most famous of the Russian avant-garde painters, who once asked "Psychology, archaeology, ethnography! What has art to do with all this?" it would be his expedition to the Vologda region as a law student in 1889, his encounter with contemporary ethnographical literature, and his visits to significant anthropological museums, which inspired his interest in shamanism.[38] In his autobiography *Rückblicke [Reminiscences]* (1913), Kandinsky revealed his fascination with ethnography which, he states, "I promised myself initially, would reveal to me the soul of the people."[39] This fascination derived from his expedition to Vologda to examine peasant laws and pagan customs. Later in *Rückblicke* he described this trip as one of the most powerful experiences of his student life, for it had given him access to the brightly-coloured conceptual folk art, and the atmospheric rituals of the Finno-Ugric, specifically the Zyrian peoples, an experience which had overturned his assumptions about the capacity of artistic expression and the spiritualism of pagan rites.[40] The results of

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[36] A. Parton, (2010). *Goncharova: The Art and Design of Natalia Goncharova.* Antique Collectors' Club, Woodbridge: 34.
[37] Ibid.
[38] W. Kandinsky, (1901). "Critique of Critics". In *Kandinsky: Complete Writings on Art.* (1982). Edited by K. Lindsay & P. Vergo. G. K. Hall, Boston: 42.
[39] W. Kandinsky, (1913a). "Rückblicke" ["Reminiscences"]. In *Kandinsky: Complete Writings on Art.* (1982). Edited by K. Lindsay & P. Vergo. G. K. Hall, Boston: 362.
[40] A. Hoberg, (2009). "Vassily Kandinsky: Abstract, Absolute, Concrete". In *Kandinsky,* edited by V. Barnett. Guggenheim Museum Publications, New York: 24; H. Düchting, (2007). *Kandinsky 1866-1944: A Revolution in Painting.* Taschen, Hamburg: 9; P. Weiss, (1987). "Kandinsky and 'Old Russia': An Ethnographic Exploration". In

Kandinsky's research in Vologda was published in the third issue of the *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie [Ethnographic Review]*, entitled "From Materials on the Ethnography of the Sysol and Vechegda Zyrians –The National Deities (According to Contemporary Beliefs)", in which he discussed the Zyrian customs and beliefs, their conception of the 'ort' or soul, and the burial of a *koldun*, shaman. This incited a prolific encounter with ethnographical and anthropological research and literature, with Kandinsky reading and contributing to the *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie* on the topic, and attending meetings of the Imperial Society of Friends of the Natural Sciences, Anthropology and Ethnography, at which papers on shamanism were presented and at which he himself gave oral presentations. In his travel journal of the Vologda expedition he lists ethnographic scholars whom he wished to visit, such as Ivanitskii, sources of ethnographic literature, such as Sjögren's famous book on northern Russia, *Die Syrjänen, ein historisch-statisisch-philologischer Versuch [The Zyrians: A Historical-Statistical-Philological Study]*, published in St Petersburg in 1861, and the epic legend of the ancient Finns, the *Kalevala*, a fable filled with shamanic imagery.[41]

Kandinsky became actively involved in professional ethnographical circles at the University of Moscow during the 1880s and 1890s. These engaged in the discovery and collection of artefacts and sponsored research into them. Hence these societies contributed to the growing contemporary investigation into 'primitive' cultures, particularly shamanism. It is well documented that Kandinsky frequently made donations and visits to ethnographic museums. In 1896, having decided to devote himself entirely to art, Kandinsky donated artefacts he had acquired on the trip to Vologda, and the sketches he drew whilst there, to the Dashkov collections of the Rumiantsev Museum. At that time this collection also held at least one significant shamanic artefact, a Nenet (Samoyed) shaman's drum and beater.[42] Kandinsky himself later became an ardent collector of folk art, and acquired numerous Bavarian reverse paintings on glass, Russian *lubki*, and shamanic artefacts. After moving to Munich to begin his artistic training, he had immediate access to an ethnographic resource that would prove invaluable, the Munich Ethnographic Museum, whose director, Lucian Scherman, was determined to increase the Siberian collections. As Kandinsky began to practise in this period he carried with him not only an innate artistic talent and aesthetic awareness, but also the cultural context of his own

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The Documented Image: Visions in Art History, edited by G. Weisberg & L. Dixon. Syracuse University Press, New York: 187; P. Weiss, (1979). *Kandinsky in Munich-The Formative Jugendstil Years*. Princeton University Press, Princeton: 63, 111.

[41] Weiss, (1995): 11-12.

[42] Weiss, (1995): 31; See V. Miller, (1887). *Systematic Catalogue of the Dashkov Collections of the Ethnographic Museum*. Vol. 1. Moscow. In subsequent years the collection of shamanic artefacts increased see N. Ianchuk, (1910), ed. *Musée Ethnographique Dachkov au Musée Public et Musée Roumianzov à Moscou: Catalogue illustré à l'usage des éstrangers [The Ethnographic museum, The Dashkov Public Museum and The Roumianzov Museum in Moscow: Illustrated catalogue for use by Visitors]*. Rumiantsev Muszei & Lissnera i Sobko, Moscow.

Russian heritage and a resonant reserve of ethnographic folkloristic and psychological knowledge.[43]

For Kasimir Malevich, (1879-1935), the radical leader of the Suprematist movement, it would largely be his interest in popular psychology via the writings of Ouspensky, and his encounter with the poets Khlebnikov and Kruchenykh that led him to portray potentially shamanic sensibilities in the creation of his radical aesthetic.[44] Ouspensky's ideas concerning the fourth dimension and how one might access it were popular during this period, and Malevich appears to make an allegorical comparison between the fourth dimension and shamanism in order to provide him with the cosmic mysticism he required to actualise his mission of psychological healing. He created Suprematist works whose resilient geometricism had the capacity to transcend our earthly phenomenal realm, their non-objectivity infused with the intermediary power of the icon, and the profound experience of the nihilism which characterised fourth-dimensional perception.[45] He emerges as a shaman-like artist in his embodiment of Ouspensky's 'superman', a clairvoyant figure whose duty it was to apprehend and assimilate fourth-dimensional or unconscious cosmological conceptions, and to communicate them to the people. His understanding of the shamanic ideology as associated with such conceptions is likely to have come from his membership of the Donkey's Tail and Union of Youth movements, which were both evidencing a certain interest in shamanism during this period. At the same time Malevich began to formulate his peasant rhetoric, a language which Professor John Bowlt has argued suggests the aesthetic conventions of shamanic idols, and the pious spirituality of a romantic 'primitive' ideology.[46] His interaction with the trans-sense zaum of Khlebnikov and Kruchenykh inspired by the glossolalic language of mystical sects provided another dimension to his art, for it redefined conventional understanding of language, placing significance on the mystical capacity of syllabic combinations and sounds, rather than the meaning enforced by modern communication. Thus Malevich could utilise zaum as a means to express the initial conscious perception of the unconscious archaic language of nature, and further assign a transcendental capacity to his work.[47] Malevich's emergence of potentially shamanic methods would culminate in his desire to actualise a utopian society via the construction of mystical architecture defined by its transcendental propensities. Thus the re-emergence of shamanic

[43] Weiss, (1995): 33.
[44] J. Milner, (1996). *Kazimir Malevich And The Art Of Geometry*. Yale University Press, New Haven: 20ff.
[45] Ibid.
[46] J. Bowlt, N. Misler & E. Petrova, (2013a) eds. *The Russian Avant-Garde Siberia and the East*. Skira, Florence: 307.
[47] Milner, (1996): 100.

sensibilities in Malevich's work appears to be mainly for the purpose of transcending the phenomenal realm, a traversal which ultimately would facilitate global psychological healing.

For Pavel Filonov (1883-1941), a relatively unknown yet paramount figure of the Russian avant-garde, it would be his insistence on maximising one's intuitive capacities, and his research into contemporary theories of scientific evolution that inspired the emergence of shamanic sensibilities and an apparent love of ethnography.[48] Filonov began his art education under the ambient views of the artist and ethnographer Dmitriev-Kavkazsky, whose work for the magazine *Vsemirnaia illiutratsii [Universal Illustration]* included articles and illustrations concerning the archaic beliefs and customs of the 'exotics' of the Russian Empire.[49] Subsequently, Filonov's Analytical Art and the Theory of Madeness would require that the artist develop his intuition through persistent work, in order that he might distinguish between the 'knowing' and the 'seeing' eye. In this he was inspired by the focus on maximising one's intuitive potential in the mystical initiatory processes, an experience metaphorical to Jung's expression of unconscious archetypes, whose apprehension and assimilation by the conscious was part of developing one's intuitive psyche.[50] He was inspired by Ouspensky, and the esteemed status that Ouspensky assigned the artist, a status that perhaps equated to that of the shaman. In addition, in his early work Filonov appears to have utilised the aesthetic conventions of *kamennye baby* in order to imbue his protagonists with the reverence such artefacts had in shamanic ideology. A convention which he also took to his collaboration with Khlebnikov on *Derevyannye idoly [Wooden Idols]*, where Filonov innovatively illustrated the piece using hieroglyphic pictograms similar to those employed by shamans on their drums. Subsequently, Bowlt argues that the artist began to reference anthropomorphic and zoomorphic idols in his work, idols which in shamanism were propitiated to ensure the shaman's journey, a metaphor for the process to and actualisation of psychic holism.[51] Filonov was likely to have gained some knowledge of shamanism through his interaction with and membership of the Union of Youth, and through his collaboration with Khlebnikov, whose trans-rational zaum was inspired by the ecstatic language of ostracised religious sects. After researching evolutionary biology via the resurgence of Neo-vitalism, Filonov began to utilise a microscopic cellular language as a metaphor for the morphological processes of evolution, a language which signified his own interpretation of Ouspensky's fourth dimension, in order to create canvases allegorical

[48] Filonov often referred to his ethnographical interests in his writings, mentioning the need for students to study ethnography and anthropology, to establish museums treating the subject, etc. See, for example, P. Filonov, (1927) "Who Needs It?" In *Pavel Filonov: A Hero and his Fate*, 1983, edited by J. Bowlt, and N. Misler. Silvergirl, Inc., Hong Kong: 222.
[49] Bowlt, Misler & Petrova, (2013a): 310.
[50] Henderson, (1964): 120.
[51] Bowlt, Misler & Petrova, (2013a): 311.

of cosmic realms.[52] It would appear that the re-emergence of shamanic and mystical sensibilities in Filonov's work are largely for the purpose of achieving maximal psychological health. For both Filonov's art work and his artistic method encouraged the development of what Jung describes as the fundamental psychic facet, the intuition, and he ensured that the reunification of the consciousness could be achieved, via the suggestive expression of shamanic idols and evolutionary biology, in order to enable the conscious apprehension and assimilation of unconscious motivations.

Thus it is would appear that one can be justified in making the claim that there was a re-emergence of shamanic sensibilites among the work of these artists in the context of achieving psychological holism, and this coupled with the context of the recent Florentine exhibition, has provided the evidential basis for proceeding with this study. At the outset it is important to acknowledge that the task of identifying the specific inspiration of shamanism on these particular artists is rendered difficult by three main factors. Firstly, there is an apparent lack of clear-cut conclusive evidence demonstrating that these artists knew about and were interested in shamanic practises or indeed borrowed from them. Whilst Kandinsky appears to be involved in researching shamanic culture, the other artists are limited to the evidence of ownership of shaman-related books and the accessibility of shaman-related artefacts and scholarship. More problematically, there seems to be little or no evidence which documents the artists explicitly stating their interest in shamanism. Secondly, the task of identifying the specific influence of shamanism is rendered more challenging by the fact that these artists drew from an eclectic and multifaceted pool of influences including Orthodox iconography, folk/popular art, ethnic art from across cultures, modernist art, and the influence of other 'primitive' painters. In addition, these artists were highly creative in their use of sources adapting existing practises for their own purposes. Thus the interpretation of their art in terms of understanding specific sources of inspiration becomes highly speculative and is open to distinctly subjective readings. Finally, many of the practises, beliefs, symbols and experiences documented in shamanism are also encountered outside shamanism itself. However, there are some convincing shamanic elements present in the art of the Russian avant-garde which should not be ignored. Hence the reason for choosing shamanic sensibilities rather than specifically shamanism itself, for it allows for more archetypal expression as part of Jung's use of shamanism as the quintessential metaphor for the process towards psychic reunification. Moreover, following Jung, this thesis will argue that the artists came to their shaman-like approach through the process of psychological emergenge, the

[52] C. Douglas, (1984). "Evolution and the Biological Metaphor in Modern Russian Art". *Art Journal*, Vol. 44, No. 2, Art and Science. Part I: 158-160.

notion that certain shamanic-type methods, archetypes and conceptions were embedded in their psyches and emerged under certain conditions particularly for the achievement of psychologically therapeutic aims. Indeed, the premise that shamanic outlooks and responses are embedded in the human consciousness and re-emerge under certain socio-cultural conditions is not specifically a Jungian one, but is fairly widely held and discussed within specialist disciplines that explore shamanism. Here we might cite the work of Michael Winkelman, specifically his essay "Shamanism as the Original Neurotheology" and his work *Shamanism: The Neural Ecology of Consciousness and Healing*, and Robert Kaplan in his essay "The Neuropsychiatry of Shamanism"[53] This body of scholarship provides a further justification for exploring such ideas in relation to the visual arts.

In terms of the existing scholarly literature, there are several significant studies on this subject which have prefigured and informed this thesis. These are, most notably, Peg Weiss' examination of the impact of shamanism on Kandinsky's *oeuvre,* predominantly her work *Kandinsky and Old Russia; The Artist as Ethnographer and Shaman*, (1995), as well as her articles on the subject, and Anthony Parton's analysis of how Buriat shamanism inspired the aesthetics of Larionov, a theme discussed in his monograph on the artist entitled *Mikhail Larionov and the Russian Avant-Garde,* (1993). In addition, the exhibition catalogue to the Palazzo Strozzi's *Russian Avant-Garde: Siberia and the East* provided significant research concerning the Russian avant-garde's connection to shamanism with which to advance this study. When considering the individual artists' interface with shamanism and psychology, this thesis largely relied on the principal studies concerning their *oeuvres* as a whole, in order to access important research on the primary motivations behind their innovative work. The most fundamental of these texts for Malevich would be John Milner's *Kazimir Malevich And The Art Of Geometry* (1996), for Goncharova Anthony Parton's monograph entitled *Goncharova: The Art and Design of Natalia Goncharova* (2010), and for Filonov the writings of John Bowlt and Nicoletta Misler, particularly *Pavel Filonov: A Hero and his Fate* (1983), alongside the exhibition catalogue *Pavel Filonov: Seer of the Invisible* (2006). These studies have informed the research framework concerning the individual artists' work and the inspirations behind it. This was then reinterpreted under both a shamanic and psychological lens, demonstrating that the innovations in both art and literature produced by these artists were likely to be inspired by the ideology and iconography of shamanism, and that shamanic sensibilities amongst the Russian avant-garde re-emerged because they provided the appropriate visual metaphor with which to facilitate the artists' ameliorative psychological aims.

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[53] M. Winkelman, (2004). "Shamanism as the Original Neurotheology". *Zygon*, Vol. 39, No. 1: 193-217; Winkelman (2000); R. Kaplan, (2006). "The Neuropsychiatry of Shamanism". Before Farming, Vol. 2006, Issue. 4: 1-14.

When researching the shamanic phenomenon Mircea Eliade's pioneering study *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (1964), in conjunction with his more recent writings, was invaluable. Other studies worthy of note are the writings of Winkelman, specifically *Shamanism: The Neural Ecology of Consciousness and Healing* (2000), Ripinsky-Naxon's *The Nature of Shamanism: Substance and Function of a Religious Metaphor* (1993), and Drury's *The Elements of Shamanism* (1989). Finally, to understand the apparent psychological motivations behind the creativity of these artists, Carl Jung's *Man and his Symbols* (1964) and its interpretative articles provided the critical framework with which to approach the avant-garde's sense of cultural psychic malaise, and thus to understand their quest for healing via the anticipation of the necessity for Jung's reunified consciousness.

The journey of this thesis is divided into four chapters which reflect the shaman's experience as he accepts and enacts his craft. Shamanism specifically was chosen as Jung argued that the figure of shaman was the fundamental 'archetype of transcendence', and that the shamanic process was a metaphor for the process of psychological reunification.[54] Such a thematic method was adopted as it enables the reader to empathise with the processes required in taking up the shamanic mantle and thus the potential facilitation of psychological holism, and it allows certain aspects of shamanism, and their suggested manifestation in the art work of the Russian avant-garde to be explored in a fluid manner, culminating in the ultimate telos of the actualisation of psychological healing and the fundamental conclusions of this thesis. The Jungian perspective is woven into the shamanic journey in order to address the reason behind the avant-garde's choice of inspiration. The first chapter will examine the theme of *dvoeverie,* which in the hands of the avant-garde will be shown to be connected to shamanic sensibilities and ultimate psychic reunification, both through the suggested use of shamanic artefact conventions, and through its attempt to establish a universal archetypal language with which to facilitate a holistic consciousness. The chapter's focus will be on analysing how the artists appear to have utilised the visual aesthetics and ideological principles of three main 'primitive' traditions, the archaic shamanic artefact, the transcendental icon object and expressive folk art, such as the *lubok* print, a 'primitive' narrative usually expressed in a symbolic woodcut which typified Russian peasant traditions. It will evaluate this suggestion by specifically examining how the avant-garde attempted to permeate their work with the mystical symbolism associated with these traditions, and how this enabled them to express the unconscious 'archaic language of nature'. Works exhibiting Larionov's and Goncharova's Neo-primitive aesthetic, Malevich's peasant

[54] Henderson, (1964): 147.

rhetoric and geometricism, and works from Filonov's early period will be analysed in this manner. Following this the chapter will examine the utilisation of myth as a further means of expressing *dvoeverie* and ultimately a universal archetypal language. It will analyse how Kandinsky and the Filonov School drew on mythic traditions and symbols as a means of permeating their aesthetic with a resounding psychic spiritualism. For Kandinsky, works of his early *oeuvre*, and those largely inspired by his expeditions to the Vologda region will be examined, while for the Filonov School, their innovative illustrative schema for the 1933 edition of the Finnish epic the *Kalevala* will be the focus. The chapter will argue overall that the visual elements of these traditions appear to have been utilised by the artists in order to express the archetypal language of the unconscious.

The second chapter will examine how these artists appeared to undergo experiences of allegorical death, destruction and rebirth, experiences which have their parallels to the shamanic initiation process, and indeed experiences which, it will argue, act as a visual metaphorical expression of Jung's fundamental archetypes of initiation, heroism and transcendence. It will analyse the writings of Kandinsky and Malevich, along with specific works by Filonov, in connection to the ecstatic stage of mystical initiationary processes and their psychological implications. Following this it will consider how Malevich and Filonov assumed the pedagogic position required by certain didactic initiatory processes, both through their teaching methods, and through their understanding of art. Next the chapter will examine how the avant-garde re-defined the role of the artist so that he had greater social and psychological power, perhaps paralleling the shaman's power in his archaic society, and how they began embodying this newfound mystical status. It will analyse how the artists achieved this embodiment largely through the medium of a self-identification with a spiritually symbolic figure, a metaphorical Jungian 'shaman'. It will also examine how Filonov utilised his literary theory to express his mystical incarnation. When exploring these embodiments, it will also discuss how they enabled the artists to become heroic transcendent archetypes. Finally, the chapter will consider how Larionov and Goncharova used their bodies as canvases with which to express their adoption of a transcendent psychological role. Evaluating their use of symbolic face and body painting, and how their social projection of their aesthetic signified their transformation into the Jungian archetype of transcendence for the purpose of psychic reunification.

The third chapter will examine how the avant-garde expressed their embarkation on a soul-journey, reminiscent of the shaman's transcendent journey, and both the perceptive and psychological implications that this had. The chapter is divided into three sections in order to

convey the complexities behind such ritualistic processes. These sections parallel the shaman's incitation of ecstasy, his sensation of spiritual flight, and his perception of cosmic noumena, all of which act as metaphors for the Jungian process of psychic reunification, achieved through the unconscious access to the conscious and the expression of its contents. The first section will examine how the artists began to imbue their work with transcendental properties in order to incite ecstasy and thus facilitate spiritual flight, a conception which metaphorically referenced the first step in the conscious' ability to assimilate unconscious expressions. It will analyse how the fundamental plastic qualities of art were assigned the capacity of transcendence, and how the artists referenced practises of drumming and chanting, reminiscent of those frequently found among shamanic societies, to create archetypal images. The next section will discuss how Larionov and Malevich permeated their art work with the sense of escapist voyage, a mystical traversal into unconscious realms. It will evaluate an aesthetic which, via the power of its expression, might facilitate both flight and ecstasy, and hence the transcendence of the unconscious and its expression to the conscious. The last section will examine how the avant-garde utilised fourth-dimensional and contemporary psychological theory to stimulate a psychic experience. It will show how they expected that, whilst meditating on their aesthetic, the viewer would have an experience which should be equivalent to the sensation of entering and perceiving unconscious realms perhaps psychologically similar to the shamanic cosmic lands, a metaphor for the renewed conscious capacity to apprehend and assimilate unconscious motivations, the ultimate step in psychic reunification. Thus Larionov's and Goncharova's Rayism will be analysed alongside Filonov's 'flowering' canvases produced by heightened intuition, and Kandinsky's paintings expressing an innovative understanding of time and space. Finally the chapter will evaluate, through specific case studies, how the avant-garde utilised the syncretic medium of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* as a means to visually allegorise psychic holism via their unconscious manifestations, which were expressed through the amalgamated cohesion of cosmic realms, using the mediums of theatre, opera and ballet. Thus the chapter will argue that the avant-garde embarked upon a soul-journey, similar to that experienced by the shaman, as a metaphor for the process towards psychological healing. It will demonstrate how they mediated the three stages of the mystical voyage in their art work; through the assigning of transcendent capacities to the plastic elements of art, the utilisation of ritualistic chanting and drumming to evoke ecstasy, and through the creation of unconscious noumena via the symbolic use of contemporary psychological theory, Ouspensky's conception of the fourth dimension and the utilisation of syncretic media. It will show how this creativity had an ultimate psychological motivation, the establishment of a reunified consciousness.

The final chapter will examine how the artists expressed their fundamental telos of global psychic healing and ecquilibrium achieved through the reunification of the consciousness, and how this became the ultimate aim of avant-garde creativity. First it will examine how Kandinsky and Goncharova utilised the medicine book tradition in conjunction with their own universal visual vocabulary, in order to create works which resounded with spiritualism, and had the capacity to facilitate psychological holism. It will consider how Filonov, Malevich and Goncharova appear to employ idol-associated aesthetic systems closely akin to those employed within the context of shamanic healing rituals, to imbue their art work with an ameliorative psychic capacity. It will consider how the avant-garde attempted to express equilibrium, the projected manifestation of their unconscious desires, and subsequently the culmination of psychological health in the actualisation of a holistic psyche. It will evaluate Larionov's and Goncharova's Neo-primitive aesthetic, Malevich's and Goncharova's peasant rhetoric, Kandinsky's establishment of an abstraction defined by the 'veiling and stripping' of symbolic imagery, Filonov's Analytical methodology, and lastly Larionov's concept of *Vsechestvo [Everythingism]*. The chapter considers how these artistic methods acted as universal visual expressions permeated with the capacity to incite psychological healing through their archetypal holism. Finally it will analyse how Malevich's attempt to construct a utopian landscape characterised by its transcendent potential revealed his ultimate ameliorative psychological motivations. The chapter will argue that the impetus behind avant-garde production in this period was a psychological one, the desire to actualise a reunified consciousness through the power of artistic expression. It will show how the re-emergence of shamanic sensibilities acted as a potent metaphor with which to facilitate this aim, through the establishment of a universal archetypal language.

Perhaps the most important question is not so much how shamanic sensibilities were mediated by these artists in their art work, but why this should have been the case. Some answers may be supplied by the conventional art-historical narrative relating to Russian modernism, approaches which argue, for example, that the avant-garde utilised 'primitive' art forms, such as shamanism, in order to create a freer form of artistic practice. Or the argument that the Russian avant-garde wanted to reflect wider expressionist practice in Europe, thus they followed the Nietzschean philosophy of renewed vitality and creative spontaneity in the face of a culture which seemed determined to wipe out individuality completely. Other answers may be offered by the socio-historical approach which suggests that underpinning this practice is an overall rejection of bourgeois academic culture, both in its strictures on artistic convention, and in its relentless promotion of Enlightenment rationality. In this account the renewed interest on the

part of the artists in exploring the art forms of the national culture is explained by the gradual elision of that culture caused by Russia's increasing alignment with the West. Indeed, the art of painting itself appeared to be being sold out to Franco-German models, and thus, it is argued, the artist bought into the image of the 'primitive' in order to align himself with the people, and hence negotiate a radical attack against the status quo. Yet, this thesis will argue, these approaches, whilst providing significant explanations, do not address the inherent yearning which appears to characterise the avant-garde's apparent preoccupation with the 'primitive', nor do they answer why these artists adopted a 'shaman-like' approach in the formulation of their innovative artistic *oeuvres*, notions which can only truly be explained by a global psychological problem and its solution delineated some fifty years later by Carl Jung.

At this juncture it is important to address the broad notion of the 'primitive', in literary and romantic ideology, as well as in the artistic rhetoric which the Russian avant-garde inherited. The term 'primitivism' was first used in an art-historical context in the late nineteenth century to describe Netherlandish and Italian painters of the 13th- 15th centuries who were said to 'imitate the primitives'.[55] At the same time Russian artists and critics began employing the term, with Nicolas Rerikh, at the turn of the century, encouraging artists to "study ancient life as much as possible, to be penetrated and saturated through and through by it," as part of his thorough exploration of what it meant to be 'primitive'.[56] [57] If we bring the term's usage into the context of this thesis, we can see most apparently its importance in Shevchenko's definition of Neo-Primitivism as a painterly movement which takes the 'primitive' as its 'point of departure'.[58] Later in the same text, Shevchenko would claim that 'genuine primitivism' was the "art in which our Asiatic origin is evident in its entirety."[59] Thus the term 'primitive' encompasses complex sentiments; it covers a temporal conception, a romantic ideology and acts as a way of establishing one's identity. Johannes Fabian argued that the notion of the 'primitive' must be considered primarily as a 'temporal concept'.[60] Under this temporal interpretation the term 'primitive' acts as the antonym of the 'modern', and was used by artists and writers as a means of negotiating a critique against the conventions of 'Enlightened' society. It signifies a divide in the

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[55] W. Rubin, (1984), ed. *"Primitivism" in 20th Century Modern Art*. Museum of Modern Art Publications, New York: 2.
[56] N. Rerikh, (1898). "Iskusstvo i arkheologiia" ["Art and Archaeology"]. *Iskusstvo i khudozhestvennaia promyshlennost [Art and Art Industry]*. Vol. 1-2: 192.
[57] I. Bužinska, J. Howard, & Z. Strother, (2015). eds., *Vladimir Markov and Russian Primitivism: A Charter for the Avant-Garde*. Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Farnham: 13.
[58] A. Shevchenko, (1913). "Neo-Primitivizm. Ego teoriya. Ego vozmozhnosti. Ego dostizheniia" ["Neo-Primitivism. Its Theory. Its Capabilities. Its Achievements"]. In *The Documents of 20th Century Art: The Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism 1902-1934*. 1976, edited by J. Bowlt. Viking Press, New York: 41-55: 48.
[59] Ibid: 49.
[60] J. Fabian, (1983). *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object*. Columbia University Press, New York: 18.

human condition into 'before' and 'after': traditional as opposed to modern, pre-literate as opposed to literate, rural as opposed to urban.[61] In 1938 Robert Goldwater would break new grounds by claiming that modern artists showed "very little direct formal influence of 'primitive' art".[62] Rather, he argued, we should understand the term 'primitivism' in connection to a Romantic ideology, an expression which is based on the assumption that "the further one goes back –historically, psychologically, or aesthetically –the simpler things become; and that because they are simpler they are more interesting, more important, and more valuable".[63] In formulating this argument Goldwater referred to the romantic fascination with the 'other', the quest for an 'unattainable ideal', via the conception of the 'noble savage' through whom a 'pantheon of archaic beauty' could be expressed and understood. The most significant artist who followed this paradigm was Paul Gauguin, who initiated the fundamental change in artistic perceptions of the 'primitive' through his depiction of Tahitian peasants, and whose innovative rhetoric the avant-garde inherited. Subsequently, many art-historians have questioned Goldwater's denial of a 'direct formal influence' on modern art, calling it 'over-literal', yet his understanding of the romantic connotations of modernity's preoccupation with the 'primitive' are still valid. In fact multiple scholars have shown 'direct formal influences' in avant-garde art, and have justified their findings based on the avant-garde's interaction with the growing anthropological and ethnographical documentation which began in the late nineteenth century, a growth which enabled the avant-garde to redefine the meaning of 'art', a notion which had significant consequences on their creativity.[64]

The idea of establishing one's identity was a topic of intense debate in this period, particularly in Russia, where it ricocheted between the quest for an understanding of what it meant to be truly 'Russian', and how the artist might establish his cultural and artistic identity in the face of a rapidly declining society. The avant-garde appeared to be interested in how they might utilise a 'primitive' rhetoric as a means to authenticate their innovative modern and specifically Russian identity.[65] The confusion over Russia's complex 'Eurasian' identity stemmed from her vast land mass, which meant that she had borders with places polarised by their characteristically Western or Eastern affiliations. Thus for the avant-garde wishing to establish a genuine Russian identity meant on the one hand keeping up with Western Franco-German

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[61] Ibid: 23.
[62] R. Goldwater. (1986). *Primitivism in Modern Art.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge: 173.
[63] Ibid: xxi, 172.
[64] J. Kelly, (2007). *Art, Ethnography and the Life of Objects, Paris c. 1925-1935*. Manchester University Press, Manchester: 18-19.
[65] J-L. Amselle, (2005). *Branchements: Anthropologie de l'universalité des cultures.* Flammarion, Paris: 78-81.

artistic advances, whilst at the same time utilising the Eastern 'primitive' as a means to negotiate a social critique against the Westernised assimilation of Eastern cultures into a restructured Russia. Moreover, in their Eastern 'primitive' reference they referred to themselves as signifiers of their own archaic and savage heritage.[66] Interestingly, the 'Russian primitives' discussed in this thesis, despite their investigation into and interaction with 'primitive' art, still remained largely committed to the conventions of modern western fine art, whereby oil paint on canvas acted as the highest medium of artistic expression. Thus the Neo-primitive venture, whilst studying a variety of 'primitive' mediums and techniques, only utilised them as a means of reinventing their conventional two-dimensional art form, which suggests that despite their claims of attempting to establish a holistic nationalism, the true aim of Neo-Primitivism was to aggravate a Russian bourgeois audience.[67] Nevertheless, this limitation does not undermine the significance of the Russian avant-garde's use of primitivism. Indeed, the Russian avant-garde were shown to engage in the 'primitive' conversation at all levels, they utilised it to negotiate a social critique via their projection of its temporal contrast with the modern age, they used it to create a romantic ideology which suggested the aspiration of the modern condition to the archaic spirituality and social cohesion of peasant society, and they employed it as a means of establishing an innovative cultural and artistic identity in the face of a rapidly declining society. Thus the avant-garde's utilisation of the 'primitive' was really as a means of facilitating vital social change, a change that would bring about psychic holism through the message of its symbolism. While the main legacy of 'primitivism' itself appears to be a renewed way of viewing archaic art and peoples.

Having accepted this context, and indeed, the vast amount of art-historical literature on this subject, this thesis will provide another and thus far innovative interpretation of this phenomenon in art history. It will bring to bear a Jungian analysis, for what is quite clear from these artists' statements, is that they perceived their culture to be fundamentally fractured, a fracture of the modern psyche, which has destroyed man's capacity to "dream great dreams".[68] This perceived psychic fracture was part of a broader cultural malaise that the avant-garde across Europe experienced. Initially picked up by the Romantics in the early nineteenth century, next, it was explored by the Symbolists, who begged artists to "plumb the depths of the unknown to

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[66] C.f. S. Warren, (2013). *Mikhail Larionov and the Cultural Politics of Late Imperial Russia*. Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Farnham.
[67] J. Howard. (2015). ""The Treasure-House of World Beauty": Markov and Russian Primitivism Writ Large". In *Vladimir Markov and Russian Primitivism: A Charter for the Avant-Garde*, edited by I. Bužinska, J. Howard, & Z. Strother. Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Farnham: 45.
[68] Letter 1888. V. Van Gogh to T. Van Gogh, dated 18th August, on http://vangoghletters.org/vg/letters/let663/letter.html.

discover the new".[69] Subsequently, it was readdressed with renewed vigour in the early twentieth century, at a time of enormous strained tension and conflict, which haemorrhaged in the first word war. The case for looking at this material through the lens of Jungian psychology is further substantiated by the Russian avant-garde's interest in the work of Petr Ouspensky. Ouspensky was not only a renowned mathematician and an esotericist engaging in popular psychology, who promoted a mystical view of the fourth dimension of space and theorised about how to access it, but he was also the editor of the celebrated contemporary newspaper *Nov* which the avant-garde are known to have read. Contemporary developments in psychology were in vogue during this period, and as will be shown later, the avant-garde were certainly referencing early popular psychologists in their work. Such interests validate the employment of a Jungian perspective in relation to this material, for the material clearly lends itself to an explanation in terms of psychology. Contemporary thinking about psychology and its relationship to art appears to be built into the DNA of modernism, not only through authors such as Ouspensky in Russia, but also Bragdon and Hinton in America.

The Russian avant-garde we may argue, saw the prevalent social and cultural tensions as veritable signifiers of the fundamental psychic dislocation in modern man's consciousness. A dislocation which Jung would subsequently explain was caused by Enlightenment rationality, which had led to a perilous advancement of the conscious. This advancement had caused the consciousness to become disassociated, and thus the conscious had lost touch with the unconscious, and hence its primal instinctual and archaic spiritual elements. The solution to realign the consciousness was for the unconscious to access the conscious and express its contents in the 'archaic language of nature', which it attempted to do via dreams and other psychic manifestations.[70] As Jung would state, unconscious motivations must:

> "…grow again from the forgotten depths if they are to express the deepest insights of consciousness and the loftiest intuitions of the spirit, thus amalgamating the uniqueness of present-day consciousness with the age-old past of humanity."[71]

It was modern man's duty to aid the unconscious in its quest, and to initiate a global psychic healing, one which would realign the consciousness through reasserting 'primitive' spiritual values. In their perception of this, the Russian avant-garde saw their artistic language as the fundamental means with which to articulate psychic healing, and they found in the emergence of

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[69] C. Baudelaire (1868) "Le voyage". In *Fleurs du mal [Flowers of Evil]* on http://fleursdumal.org/poem/231.
[70] C. Jung, (1964). "Approaching the Unconscious". In *Man and his Symbols*, edited by C. Jung. Doubleday, London: 31-32, 38.
[71] A. Jaffé, (1964). "Symbolism in the Visual Arts". In *Man and his Symbols,* edited by C. Jung. Doubleday, London: 267.

shamanic sensibilities a visual metaphor with which to both express and actualise their vital therapeutic mission. Consequently, they transformed themselves into 'archetypes of transcendence', figures perhaps modelled on the archaic shaman, or the clairvoyant priestess, and created an aesthetic permeated with the mystical ameliorative capacity of 'primitive' spiritual ontologies, in order that they might provide the cultural psychic healing so urgently required. This thesis will approach the 'primitive' question from a Jungian perspective, to provide a critical framework which offers another answer to the question as to why these artists were so preoccupied with this theme, a theme which permeates avant-garde practise across the board.

This thesis will reach two fundamental conclusions. Firstly, that there was a re-emergence of shamanic sensibilites amongst the Russian avant-garde, specifically Larionov, Goncharova, Kandinsky, Malevich and Filonov, and secondly, that these artists appear to employ shamanic-style mysticisms as a part of a powerful visual metaphor with which to both express and attempt to actualise their ameliorative psychological motivations. Thus the first chapter will conclude that, through the phenomenon of *dvoeverie,* these artists appear to be inspired by shamanic, iconographical and folk ideology and aesthetic conventions in order to establish a holistic language permeated with universal spiritualism. A language which could act as a metaphorical expression of the unconscious 'archaic language of nature'. The second chapter will conclude that the avant-garde, inspired by mystical, perhaps shamanic figures, attempted to express Jungian heroic, initiatory and transcendent archetypes, and to redefine the persona and function of the artist in conjunction with this, with the aim of embodying this renewed role. Actions which, it will argue, were undertaken as a means of facilitating unconscious access and expression. The third chapter will conclude that the Russian avant-garde sought to visually express the transcendence of the unconscious, and its ultimate manifestation to the conscious, through the emergence of shamanic sensibilities in their art, which then enabled the conscious to apprehend and assimilate its archaic and primal desires. The final chapter will conclude that the fundamental telos of avant-garde ideology was to establish global universal healing and psychological holism, through the adoption of a shaman-like approach, and that they anticipated Jungian conclusions concerning the modern condition. Overall this thesis suggests a potential case for Russian avant-garde artists in the early twentieth century to have seen in shamanic sensibilities a possible means of social and cultural healing, as a visual metaphor for expressing their perception of psychic necessities, hence facilitating the remedy of their culture which was corroded due to the legacy of 'Enlightened' modernity. Consequently, this interpretation of the material marks a new stage in the study of primitivism as related to the Russian avant-garde, and indeed potentially as it relates to the European avant-garde as a whole in the early 20th century.

CHAPTER ONE: DVOEVERIE

"For the point of departure in our art we take the *lubok*, the primitive art form, the icon, since we find in them the most acute, most direct perception of life."[72] Thus Shevchenko defined the concept of Neo-Primitivism, and illustrated the fundamental importance of reflecting multiple artistic and spiritual elements in one's work. At this time artists became fascinated with the phenomenon of *dvoeverie*, ditheism or double faith. This concept can be defined as the reflection of two or more spiritual elements within one medium of expression. Such a notion is fundamental for our understanding of shamanic mysticism, for the central telos of the shamanic phenomenon is the actualisation of cosmic equilibrium, a state of holistic harmony achieved by the unification of diverse systems of belief and resulting in ultimate balance throughout the universe.[73] In the case of the Russian avant-garde, this phenomenon was evident throughout human history, particularly among the archaic Russians, whose lives revolved around the coexistence of two essentially opposed traditions, the pagan and the Christian, the symbols of which were largely interchangeable. Such dual syncretism became an essential feature of avant-garde iconography enabling them to endow their works with emotional charge.[74] The avant-garde would have been aware of existing art works that had already reflected upon this theme. Vasilii Surikov's well-known painting *Ermak's Conquest of Siberia* (1895), for example, dramatically juxtaposed the armies of Rus' under Christian banners with the pagan masses opposite, led by a shaman in full costume and drum aloft. However, such artists portrayed *dvoeverie* in a historicising, realistic style, whereas the avant-garde used a rather more modern, expressionistic treatment of the subject which was to be equally dramatic.[75]

It was through their modern expression of the phenomenon of *dvoeverie* that the avant-garde attempted to depict a universal cosmology, something which was frequently being sought in a world which seemed to be collapsing morally, socially and even scientifically, with the discovery of the further division of the atom, in the build-up to and experience of World War I. Critically underlining this sensation of collapse was perhaps the artists' perception of what Jung has termed 'the dislocation of the consciousness'. As we have seen, Jung argues that whilst man had spent many years developing his psyche during the Enlightenment, such development has in fact been detrimental to our consciousness. For our conscious level has become over-educated,

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[72] Shevchenko, (1913): 46.
[73] C.f. Eliade, (1964).
[74] M. Dabrowski, (1995). *Kandinsky Compositions*. Museum of Modern Art Publications, New York: 17, 36.
[75] Weiss, (1995): 46.

becoming fundamentally detached from its subconscious element. Such detachment is ultimately perilous for the human psyche and our understanding and expression of unconscious emotions. Fortunately, the subconscious has not been entirely lost, and reasserts its presence through recurring symbols or motifs which appear in dreams and other psychic manifestations. However, the subconscious presents these symbols using the ancient 'language of nature' which is quite incomprehensible to us. The experience of these recurring symbols, which are charged with emotion, Jung referred to as 'collective archetypes', as occurrences appear across times and cultures. They are often found in what people now term 'religious' imagery, but are in fact 'collective representations' which emanate from 'primitive' beliefs, ideals and fantasies. Jung divided the most common symbols into four types; motifs of initiation, motifs of 'the hero', motifs of transcendence, and finally, more complex symbols which formed myths, such as the 'cosmogonic myth'. He noted that such 'collective archetypes' could appear in multiple guises but their underlying symbolism was the same, hence why Christian, pagan and mythical expressions can all encompass a 'collective archetype'.[76] Interestingly, Jung's four types of 'collective archetypes' are all part of the shamanic ideology, and indeed, Jung himself cited shamanic imagery as paradigmatic in the unconscious' quest to express collective archetypes. For Jung, the only way for mankind to mend the split in his consciousness, and to become reunited with his subconscious, was to re-establish his connection to the 'primitive' and its spiritual facets which produced these 'collective' symbolic motifs and myths.

For the avant-garde this concept was deeply appealing, for they could utilise the powerful medium of their art as a means to reunify the consciousness, as well as developing a holistic pictorial language formulated from universal unconscious archetypes which transcended culture and time to create a meaningful therapeutic vocabulary. It was this perception, this chapter will argue, that motivated the re-emergence of shamanic sensibilities amongst these artists in both their expression of *dvoeverie* and ultimately the establishment of their powerful aesthetic. Such a claim can be evidenced by their apparent choice of interrelated symbolic imagery through which they illustrated the underlying connections between pagan religions, Finno-Ugric mythology and Christianity. This form of expression underlines the most fundamental aim of shamanism, to establish a cosmic equilibrium whereby health and the harmony between man and nature can be maintained. Thus the art works in this style may appear to express an overarching shamanic and universal ideology to which the artist should aspire in the context of a rapidly fragmenting world. This chapter will examine how the Russian avant-garde expressed the phenomenon of *dvoeverie* in

[76] Jung, (1964): 31-32, 38, 41-2, 57-8, 61, 85; C.f. Henderson, (1964): 97-98.

their work. It will consider the development of Neo-Primitivism and its championing of the conflation of diverse styles within a work of art, the transcendental mysticism of the icon and how its ontological conception could be translated to the modern context, and the magic of Finno-Ugric folklore and myth in establishing an overarching holistic language permeated with universal archetypes which might mimic the experience of cosmic equilibrium and thus begin the process of uniting man's consciousness.

The concept of *dvoeverie* underpinned the ideology of Neo-Primitivism, a style of painting developed by Larionov in the years between 1909 and 1912, but the symbolic depth of which was most profoundly expressed by Goncharova. Neo-primitive painting was characterised by its utilisation of multiple indigenous sources and primarily 'primitive' modes of representation, in order to express a modern and more 'direct perception of life'. The artists' choice of 'primitive' sources and representational devices may be explained by Jung's conception that the manner in which the subconscious manifests itself in modern life, and the evidence psychologists use to prove the existence of an unconscious element to our consciousness, is through the occurrence in dreams and other psychic episodes of those 'collective symbols', which manifest themselves as images and experiences that are analogous to 'primitive' ideals, rites and myths. Such images are evidence of what Freud termed the 'archaic remnants' of the psyche. Their appearance is an attempt by the unconscious to reassert the importance of these spiritual elements to a homogenised soul, and become re-associated with our new developed consciousness. These images occur because the unconscious part of modern man's psyche still contains the symbol-making capacity that had originally found its expression in 'primitive' rituals and beliefs. This capacity still plays a fundamental role of great psychic significance, for man is dependent upon the emotions attached to the symbols reproduced by the unconscious, and our behaviour and attitude is greatly influenced by them. The fact that these 'primitive' associative images occur in dreams and psychic episodes demonstrates the fundamental significance and universalism of their spiritual symbolism, and the necessity to re-associate ourselves with this symbolism, to re-unite our new rationality with the world of instinct and thus to achieve psychological health and harmony.[77] By choosing 'primitive' iconography and representational stratagems the avant-garde were bringing this archaic spiritual symbolism into the threshold of their modern contemporary viewer, and with the re-emergence of shamanic sensibilities they highlighted the harmonious therapeutic effect that such a re-connection would achieve. They emphasised the importance of this archaism to modern man, as Shevchenko puts it:

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[77] Jung, (1964): 5, 32-33, 57-8; Henderson, (1964): 98.

> "The word neoprimitivism on the one hand testifies to our point of departure, and on the other –with its prefix, neo –reminds us also of its involvement in the painterly traditions of our age."[78]

In this statement Shevchenko exemplifies an art form that seeks the pure simplicity of 'primitive' expression and yet strives to embody the paradigmatic modernism of its age. Neo-Primitivism then acts as a fundamental manifestation of *dvoeverie*, through its aim to combine multiple symbolic and archetypal images within one means of expression, in this case through the visual reception of art objects. It also highlights the artists' psychological aim, for it is in the search for a unifying holistic significance, through the combination of different cultural beliefs, archetypal images, and ritual practises, that one can achieve the ultimate telos, the expression of the cosmic equilibrium and the reunification of man's consciousness.

Larionov's Neo-primitivist movement sprang up in a period of great social upheaval in Russia, in a phase aptly described by one artist as a ". . . spiritually tormented, hysterical time", and it assaulted the realm of art with pugnacious force ostensibly from c. 1912, but in reality its underlying motivations had entered Larionov's and Goncharova's work as early as 1908/9.[79] [80] The term 'neo-primitivism' itself was first assigned to the movement by Shevchenko in his work *Neo-Primitivizm*, published in November 1913. As Shevchenko was a prominent member of the Target group, led by Larionov, 'Neo-primitive' art referred, at least initially, to the work of Larionov and Goncharova. The name was used to denote a style which rejected the 'civilised' norms of conventional Russian art, and was characterised by its 'primitive' stimulus, the inspiration of a wide variety of archaic and folk artefacts to create an art which revealed a more 'direct perception of life'. It is interesting that the artists claimed this for their art, for it implies that by reasserting the importance of the 'primitive' and exposing the 'modern man' to his archaic origins, the art work produced could allegorically represent the unconscious' attempt to reunify itself with the conscious through the projection of archaic images. The 'direct perception of life' is in fact a perception of man's psyche, and given the importance of the psyche in all forms of perception, such an attempt at reunification would indeed bring about a more direct, or veritable perception of life, through healing man's fundamental facet. The origins of Neo-Primitivism are extremely complex, although it is dismissed by some as the Russian avant-garde's assertion that their modernism was distinct from foreign climes and influences, in reality it was

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[78] Shevchenko, (1913): 47.
[79] A. Benois, (1900-1902). *Istoriia russkoi zhivopisi v XIX veke [History of Russian painting in the 19th Century]*. Mir Iskusstva, St Petersburg: 271.
[80] J. Bowlt, (1974). "Neo-Primitivism and Russian Painting". *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 116, No. 852: 133, 134.

far more complicated, and rose out of a search for the origins of the genuine Russian cultural ideology, a search which stemmed from the confused identity of Russian nationalism.[81] Such a debate began with the Russia's defeat against Japan in 1905 and her subsequent consolidation of the periphery territories of her vast empire. The politician Petr Stolypin introduced reforms which required the relocation of Russian peasants to the East, in order to conquer and colonise the easternmost stretches of Russian land mass, the intention being to assimilate the 'others' into the Russian culture. Such a process facilitated interaction between citizens of the empire and peoples of vast ethnic origins, such as Tartar or Turkic, and enabled the people to experience the 'Orient'. Travel to Asian territories and the prominence of debates concerning nationalism in the press led to a fascination with an elevated 'imaginary Orient', the search for the true origins of Russia's vast cultural heritage and the establishment of an ambivalent 'Eurasian' identity whereby the Russian citizen could align himself with both the Eastern 'primitive' savage and the Western 'enlightened' intellectual.[82]

Larionov and Shevchenko emphasised the inherent nationalism of their movement, but in doing so expressed the underlying confused national identity Russia held in regard to her association with both the west and the east. The movement promoted all the Asiatic features of Russia's cultural heritage, whilst slating the rapid cultural enslavement of the West.[83] Shevchenko resolutely declared, "Yes, we are Asia, and we are proud of this, because "Asia is the cradle of nations," a good half of our blood is Tatar, and we hail the East to come",[84] thus conflating a European ethnic group, the Russians, with an Asian one, the Tatars, and consequently suggesting the ambivalent 'Eurasian' identity which Russia encompassed. For the modern Russian artist the search for a 'primitive' expression was simultaneously an encounter with the 'Other' and yet paradoxically an expression of the 'Self'. This meant that Russians embodied both the civilised intellectual and the 'primitive' savage. Consequently, the Neo-primitive artist could be the researcher and promoter of his indigenous cultural traditions and their 'primitive' aesthetic expressions, and simultaneously the utilisation of such conceptions could act as the paradigm of self-reference.[85] An idea neatly encompassed by Jung's understanding of the modern psychic condition, a consciousness divided by its Western advancements and its struggle to become reunited with its 'primitive' instinct. Perhaps the forceful promotion of 'Asian', archaic sources

[81] W. George, (1924). "Nathalie Gontscharowa und Michel Larionow" ["Natalia Goncharova and Mikhail Larionov"]. *Das Kunstblatt [The Art Journal]*. Germany: 185.
[82] Sharp, (2006): 20-1.
[83] Parton, (1993): 77.
[84] Shevchenko, (1913): 49.
[85] Warren, (2013): 11, 14.

was the artists' attempt to reassert our unconscious 'primitive' instinct, and to attempt to reunite man's consciousness. Artistically Neo-Primitivism inspired the preservation and promotion of the 'primitive' aspects of Russia's rich cultural heritage. In this promotion it required the painter to focus on the plastic characteristics of painting itself, in order to imbue their work with a 'primitive' expression and thus a profound symbolic spiritualism, all enshrouded by the wider context of an assault against the decaying values of an autocratic society enslaved by Western conventions and a consciousness dislocated by Enlightened development.[86]

For artists such as Larionov and Goncharova utilising archaic sources from the 'East' became a means by which they could express their disillusionment with 'enlightened' society, and would facilitate them in their quest to heal this damaged society and man's consciousness through the psychological expression of universal cosmic equilibrium. Goncharova expresses the conflation of Russian nationality with the East when she declares; "Our aspirations look to the East and our attention is focused on national art".[87] The sources for the Neo-primitive aesthetic are numerous and include indigenous forms, such as the *lubok*, the icon, pre-historic art, and the ritualistic art of Siberian shamanism.[88] That Neo-Primitivism is an evident expression of the phenomenon of *dvoeverie* can be seen through its utilisation of various 'primitive' artefacts and art objects as the stimulus for a modern visual expression under the spectrum of a conflated 'Eurasian' identity. It embodies the search, reflecting numerous archetypal symbols, for a unified consciousness, achieved via a harmonious visual realm, the perception of a cosmic equilibrium.

One of Goncharova's most profound expressions of *dvoeverie* can be found in the controversial painting, *God of Fertility* (1908-9), (Fig. 2), one of a series of art works based on the study and depiction of *kamennye baby*, including *Pillars of Salt* (1909), (Fig. 3) and *Still Life with Sculpture*, (1908), (Fig. 4), for the work is 'primitive' in style, and is imbued with an underlying mystical symbolism. The painting is executed in a wilfully crude manner, the primary subject matter being the *kamennaia baba*, with its 'primitive' proportions, privileging the head and breasts through elongation, over the diminutive legs and arms, and illustrating its awkward, rough geometric qualities. The sculpture appears to be cut by the frames of the canvas, evocative of the *lubok* traditions, and is depicted in emotive colours reminiscent of peasant drawings, with a vivacity of texture that imbues the work with a sense of life, and hence eschews all academic convention.[89] The *kamennaia baba* is a significant image in the shamanic phenomenon for the

[86] Bowlt, (1974): 140.
[87] M. Larionov, (1913d). *Mishen [Target]*. Catalogue of Exhibition at Mikhailova Salon. Moscow: 31.
[88] Parton, (2010): 141-2; C.f. Sharp, (2006): 213-220.
[89] Parton, (2010): 45; C.f. Iliukhina, (2013): 119-123; Bowlt, Misler & Petrova, (2013a): 215.

worship of stones and ritualistic idols was widespread among the natives of Siberia, (Fig. 5). The ethnographer Klements reports that during one of his expeditions to the Minusinsk region he witnessed his Khaka shaman-guide worshiping an "Inei-tas", literally "Old Woman of Stone" on the banks of the River Uibat.[90] He continues that many Khakas would gather in front of the "stone women" with their shamans, at least once per year, to offer libations of wine, largely made from milk combined with alcohol, and a piece of meat, from a cow, sheep or even a horse, as a sacrifice to the "Inei-tas".[91] Such stone sculptures were frequently found in the vast 'Eastern' territories extending from Mongolia to the Danube.[92] Interpreting Orkhon-Yenisey runic inscriptions has enabled us to determine the time period and location of these anthropomorphic stone images, suggesting that they first were found in Altai, Mongolia and Tuva in the sixth to seventh centuries. The ritual function of the *kamennye baby* appears to be largely related to the occasion of death and burial, and indeed they are prominently found at archaic Turkic ceremonial and memorial sites.[93] The stone sculptures were usually elevated in the steppe and were often facing the East which was regarded as the source of life.[94]

We know that Goncharova had access to both genuine *kamennye baby* and the illustrations and literature examining them, for they were among the first pre-historic artefacts to be collected by Russian museums.[95] In 1871 The First Archaeological Congress in Moscow dedicated a section to the detailed description of these statues, with their results published in conjunction with artist's illustrations, demonstrating the diversity of the sculptures. The Historical Museum in Moscow displayed *kamennye baby* in their exhibition halls from 1883 until the revolution.[96] Not only did Goncharova visit this museum, but she also had access to publications such as *Iskusstvo i*

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[90] D. Klements, (1998). "Minusinskaia Shveitsariia i bogi pustnyi," ["Minusinsk, Switzerland and the Gods of the Desert"]. In *Pigmalion muzeinogo dela v Rossii [A Pygmalion of museum affairs in Russia],* edited by I. Dubov. Lan, St Petersburg: 192.

[91] Klements, (1998): 192; N. Karatanov, (1884). "Cherty vneshnego byta kachinskikh tatar" ["Features of the lives of the Kachin Tatars"]. *St Petersburg: Imperial Russian Geographical Society*. Vol. XX, No. 6: 33.

[92] S. Uvarov, (1908). "K voprosu o kamennykh babakh" ["On the question of stone women"]. *Trudy XIII arkheologicheskogo sezda* [*Proceedings of the XIII Archaeological Congress*]. Vol. 2. Moscow; N. Shetina, (1957) ed., *V. Rubruk: Puteshestvie v vostochnye strany Plano Karpini i Rubruka [V. Rubruk: Plano Carpini's and Rubruk's journey to the Eastern countries]*. Gos. izd-vo geogr. literatury, Moscow: 102; Unknown, (1974). "Izaianiia" ["Carvings"] in *Svod arkheologicheskikh istochnikov [A corpus of archaeological sources]*. Vol. 5, No. 4. Moscow: 5.

[93] L. Kyslasov, (1960). "Tuva v period tiurkskogo kaganata (VI-VIII vv.)" ["Tuva during the Turkic Khanate (sixth to eighth centuries)"]. *VMU (Vestnik moskovskogo universiteta) [VMU (Herald of the Moscow University)]*. Series 9, No. 1, Moscow; Unknown, (1964). "O iznachenii drevnetiurkshihk izvaianii, izobrazhaiushchikh liudei" ["Regarding the significance of the ancient Turkic stone images depicting people"]. *Sovetskaia arkheologiia [Soviet Archaeology]*. No. 2. Moscow; S. Kliashtornii, (1998). "D. D. Klements i otkrytie pamiatnikov drevnetiurkskoi posmemnosti" [D. D. Klements and the discovery of artefacts with ancient Turkic writings]. In *Pigmalion muzeinogo dela v Rossii [A Pygmalion of museum affairs in Russia],* edited by I. Dubov. Lan, St Petersburg: 141; Bowlt, Misler & Petrova, (2013a): 139.

[94] Gorbacheva, (2013): 67.

[95] Sharp, (2006): 159; Iliukhina, (2013): 119.

[96] I. Grabar, (1956). *Kamennyi vek: Monumental no-dekorativnyi friz M. Vasnetsova v Gosudarstvennom Istoricheskom muzee [Stone Ages: Monumental Decorative Frieze: M. Vasnetsov in the State Museum of History]*. Gos. izd-vo kulturno-prosvetitelnoi literatury, Moscow: 5.

khudozhesvennaia promushlennost [Art and Art Industry] which published photos of the museum's installation together with descriptions in 1889.[97] In her immediate contemporary circle, the Burliuk brothers were known to have collected several statues and *kamennye baby* were found at Abramtsevo in Moscow.[98] There was great mystery surrounding the origin of *kamennye baby* in academic debates of the period, such intrigue proved appealing to Goncharova for it enabled her to manipulate the statue's mysticism to suit her own needs.[99] [100] She admires them for their "greater spirituality and proximity to life".[101] In her essay *Indusskii i persidskii lubok [The Hindu and Persian Lubok]* (1913), Goncharova includes *kamennye baby* in a list of items that "do not copy nature, do not enhance it, but re-create it…"[102] It is interesting that Goncharova refers to the statues, whose primary function seems to conflate fertility with the ceremonial rites of death and burial, as 're-creating' nature, for an almost universal feature of primitive mysticisms, including shamanism, was the symbolic experience of death, resurrection and rebirth in the initiation period, and as part of healing rituals.[103] This process 're-created' or 're-generated' the patient or the mystic for the better, a healing process which, through both her 'primitive' expression and the social role she applied to art, Goncharova seems to imply occurs within the viewer on seeing her work, and by extension has the potential to heal a corrupted society. Jung's 'archetype of initiation' also encompasses an expression of rebirth, indeed, he uses the initiation of the shaman as a metaphor for this, an expression which helps to develop the identity of the Self. Thus Goncharova's painting is a profound expression of *dvoeverie*, for it imbues her work with the depth of mysticism associated with the *kamennaia baba*, by extension impregnating her modern aesthetic with such spiritualism, and it utilises the expressive means of other indigenous art forms, such as the *lubok*-print, to create a universal visual language with the intention of holistic psychological healing via the appreciation of the work.

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[97] V. Sizov, (1899) "Istoricheskii muzei v Moskve" ["The Historical Museum in Moscow"]. *Iskusstvo i khudozhestvennaia promyshlennost [Art and Art Industry]*. Vol. 7: 513-533, illustration: 523.

[98] Sharp, (2006): 160.

[99] Academic debates include, for example, Iulian Kulikovskii's 1906 essay and the potential connection between the *kamennye baby* and the renaissance figure of the golden 'zlata-baba'; c.f Sharp (2006): 161; Interestingly, the tomb of the Futurist writer Velimir Khlebnikov, who died in 1922 on the 28th June, has a *kamennaia baba* on it; John Milner referenced this in his closing key note speech at the CCRAC Conference on 10th December 2013.

[100] Sharp, (2006): 161.

[101] Ibid. Indeed, one account states: "It was as if these inanimate objects took on a life of their own; through them I could sense the vivid life of the peoples who had made all these things for domestic and commercial usage or to satisfy their own personal aesthetic or religious needs…" A. Makarenko, (1917). *Klements v Etnograficheskom otdele Russkogo muzeia Imperatora Aleksandra III (1901-1909) [Klements at the Ethnographic Department of the Russian Museum of Emperor Alexander III (1901-1909)]*. Publisher Unknown, Irkutsk.

[102] "N. Goncharova, (1913c). "Indusskii i persidskii lubok" ["The Hindu and Persian Lubok"]. *Vystavka ikonopisnykh podlinnikov i lubkov [Exhibition of Icon Patterns and Lubki]*. Exhibition Catalogue Khudozhestvennyi Salon. Moscow: 11-12. The exhibition took place on 24th March -7th April 1913.

[103] Winkelman, (2000): 77.

Goncharova also utilised the symbolic potential of the Russian icon to establish her universal therapeutic pictorial language.[104] She valued the icon as an art object for its archaic means of expression, and the depth of its spiritualism, for it acted as a transcendental object, a medium between the viewer and a higher deity or realm. Such a profoundly religious object, Jung argues, was symbolic of his 'archetype of transcendence'. For man puts the sense of something 'higher', which he feels on encountering the object, on to a deity, but actually this is a means of the psyche to express the passage between the unconscious and the conscious and how we sense the connection between them. In utilising icon conventions Goncharova imbued her work with this apparent symbolic status, a fundamental mysticism which also is reflected in the role of shamanic ecstasy and shamanic artefacts which act as intermediaries, facilitating access to higher cosmological realms. Goncharova executed a vast number of paintings influenced by icon prototypes. She composed at least tree triptychs, one on theme of *Christ and Archangels*, another on the theme of *Virgin with Ornamentation* and another which included panels on *St. Panteleimon* (Fig. 6) and the *Archangel* Michael. She also painted a tetraptych entitled *The Four Evangelists* (1911), illustrating the four evangelists in the manner of the deesis tier of an iconstasis; and works which focus on the apocalyptic symbolism of the biblical saints, including *The Eagle* (1911), an apocalyptic rendition of St John.[105] Further, she executed a series of large compositions containing multiple figures, for example, *Adoration of the Virgin*, (1911) (Fig. 7). Such paintings illustrate Goncharova's love of the expressive qualities of the icon tradition, an art form whose origins found expression in the creative spirit of the Russian *narod*.[106] Goncharova declared:

> "The influence of the icon? Of Persian miniatures? Of Assyria? I am not blind. I have not looked at all of that only to forget it afterwards…One cannot forget something which is no longer outside of you but within, no longer in the past but in the present."[107]

In this quote Goncharova conflates the icon object with Persian miniatures, demonstrating the notion of a universal visual language embodied in 'primitive' artefacts, and she assimilates the archaic conventions of the icon tradition into the modern context, thus proving its relevance to her modern aesthetic, whilst simultaneously and perhaps somewhat paradoxically imbuing her modernism with an inherent archaic spiritualism. She focuses on how the object has affected her

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[104] Parton, (2010): 74.
[105] Revelation 4:6b-11; c.f. Parton, (2010): 74.
[106] Parton, (2010): 74.
[107] *De*, (1914). Since the review has no attributer or signature the only reference currently extant is these letters; c.f. Parton, (2010): 180.

'within', a symbol of its psychological healing capacities, as an object which utilises an archaic spiritual language to affect the psyche.

What is most interesting about Goncharova's religious paintings is the manner in which she executes them, for she utilises conventions from the numerous Russian icon schools, and her painterly expression is also reminiscent of the 'primitive' *lubok*.[108] Thus she develops a universal pictorial language. In *Adoration of the Virgin,* (Fig. 7) she depicts the figures with the graceful stylised contours evocative of the Novgorod school, and the flatness, bright un-modulated colouring, laconic lines and arbitrary compositional structure typical of the *lubok* style.[109] Such features were highly valued by the Neo-primitivist, for they were considered to express the integrity of the subject rather than merely imitating its external appearance.[110] The dominance of vibrant colour enabled it to achieve a higher status than in academic art, for it was valued as an expressive element in its own right rather than a subsidiary factor in the depiction of the subject.[111] The *faktura* or texture of the painting became an important factor in Goncharova's expression of a subject.[112] For the texture of a 'primitive' art work was a fundamental characteristic of its execution, as it made explicit the qualities of the artistic medium being utilised. For Goncharova, expressive *faktura* was symbolic of the egalitarian and honest culture of the native Russian artist, and possessed an integrity which academic illusionism had lost. Utilising an expressive *faktura* gave her work an underlying primitivism for it was largely universal among 'primitive' art practise.[113] Eganbiuri celebrates the "rough, corrugated and very distressed treatments" of Goncharova's art where "the *faktura* is very individual, entirely her own and is impossible to reproduce."[114] The gauche palette, impasto texture and schematic style of Goncharova's paintings were considered by some to be a form of controversial parody, hence the removal of some works from the Donkey's Tail exhibition (1912).[115] However, Eganbiuri claims that Goncharova's religious paintings were not in fact parodies, but rather were the artist's

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[108] Interestingly, Goncharova also produced a number of 'contemporary *lubki*' depicting religious themes, for example, *The Lives of Saint Florus and Laurus* (1910-11). These *lubki* were exhibited at Larionov's *First Exhibition of Lubki* in 1913, and were admired by the critics. C.f. Parton, (2010): 162.
[109] Parton, (2010): 162, 171.
[110] Shevchenko, (1913): 50.
[111] Ibid: 51.
[112] The Russian term "*faktura*" has no precise, literal equivalent in English, perhaps the best expression for understanding is "texture", and more specifically the way in which material is worked so as to reveal its inherent 'textural' qualities.
[113] C.f. Vladimir Markov's [Matvejs] discussion on the importance of *faktura*: V. Markov [Matvejs], (1914). "The Principles of Creativity in the Plastic [Visual] Arts: *Faktura*". *Soiuz molodezhi [Union of Youth]*. II. St Petersburg. In *Vladimir Markov and Russian Primitivism: A Charter for the Avant-Garde*, edited by I. Bužinska, J. Howard, & Z. Strother. (2015). Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Farnham: 179-216; Parton, (2010): 174.
[114] I. Zdanevich, [E. Eganburi] (1913). *Nataliia Goncharova. Mikhail Larionov*. Ts. A. Miunster, Moscow: 22.
[115] M. Voloshin, (1912). "Moskva: Khudozhestvennaia zhizn: Oslinyi khvost" ["Moscow Art Style: The Donkey's Tail"]. *Apollon*. Vol. 7: 105; Parton, (2010): 171.

response to the Russian icon tradition with an aesthetic which was both paradigmatically modern and yet rooted in ancient culture.[116] Thus Goncharova's religious works demonstrate a profound expression of the concept of *dvoeverie*, for they both utilise the 'primitive' modes of expression apparent in the icon tradition and the *lubok* print, and are imbued with a sense of transcendental spiritualism. This expression of *dvoeverie* has mystical perhaps shamanic overtones, for not only are her works evocative of the symbolic icon object with its transcendental and intermediary power, but they are also expressed in a pictorial language of universal archetypes and are intended to therapeutically rejuvenate through psychological resonance, subsequently bringing about cosmic equilibrium and the reunification of the consciousness.

A further example of Larionov's utilisation of the principles of *dvoeverie* can be seen in his curating of *The Exhibition of Icon Patterns and Lubki* simultaneously with his *Target Exhibition* in March 1913. By organising the two exhibitions to function as a pair Larionov ultimately insisted on an underlying link between the two forms of art. The first, a vast collection of archaic artefacts from across Russian and other Eastern 'primitive' cultures and periods, largely supplied from his own collection, juxtaposed and yet inherently connected to the second, pioneered by the radical modernism of his rayist aesthetic.[117] Larionov further emphasised the symbolic connection between the two seemingly opposing aesthetics in his introduction to the icon exhibition when he justified the contemporary importance of the archaic artefacts, stating:

> "The feeling of novelty and all the interest are in no way lost because these epochs in their essence, development and movement are the same, and to consider them from the point of view of time, is only unfortunate narrow-mindedness".[118]

Thus Larionov promoted the relevance of the archaic artistic modes of expression and he signified the principle of *Vsechestvo* which enabled him to make symbolic allusions and connections between artefacts and cultures separated by time. Consequently, Larionov brought the icons and *lubki* into the contemporary realm, and he imbued his modernist aesthetic with a profound archaic symbolism. Indeed, the concept of transcending time is a fundamental aspect of the search for cosmic equilibrium, for archetypal symbols which can overcome the restrictions of time can have an ultimate universal commonality and therefore can signify such a therapeutic telos. Thus Larionov's work may be explored from a Jungian point of view, as an expression of Jungian archetypes and as a means to reunify the consciousness, creating psychological health and harmony at a maximal level. Larionov's exhibitions opened at the same time as a number of

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[116] S. Gorodetsky, (1911). "Soiuz molodezhi" ["The Union of Youth"]. *Russkoe slovo [The Russian Word]*. No. 86: 6.
[117] Warren, (2013): 93.
[118] M. Larionov, (1914b). "Predislovie" ["Foreword"]. *Vystavka kartin no. 4 (futuristy, luchisty, primitiv) [Exhibition of Paintings No. 4 (Futurists, Rayists, Primitives)*. Exhibition Catalogue. Moscow: 6; c.f. Parton, (1993): 101.

'national revivalist' exhibitions which were organised to celebrate the Romanov tercentenary, for example, the *Exhibition of Ancient Russian Art* at the Imperial Archaeological Institute in Moscow, and the *Second All-Russian Exhibition of Handicraft*. Consequently, as Warren points out, Larionov was entering a comprehensive cultural dialogue concerning the role of such ancient artefacts, and particularly Orthodox religious artefacts, in defining the modernism of a contemporary Russian state. Larionov's exhibitions, although organised at the same time as the tercentenary celebratory exhibitions differed fundamentally in their strategic vein, the portrayal of Russian folk nationalism. For in the tercentenary exhibitions the artefacts constituted a celebratory expression of the Tsar's connection to his people but in contrast, Larionov's exhibitions signified a pointed attack on the autocratic regime.[119] Larionov utilised the principles of *dvoeverie* to imbue his modernism with archaic symbolism, and imply the modern relevance of archaic artefacts, providing an overall psychological healing capacity to his art, and negotiating a social critique.

Larionov's application of *dvoeverie* is further signified in his utilisation of the formal and symbolic qualities of icons to add spiritual depth to his modern aesthetic. The icon itself had acquired a 'fashionable' status during this period. Such a revival of interest can be explained by the resurgence of interest in archaeology and ethnography, the imperial desire to highlight the ancient roots of their heritage, and through the avant-garde's need to formulate an ultimately powerful cross-cultural symbolic aesthetic which could stimulate psychological healing. At the *Exhibition of Ancient Russian Art* in 1913 newly-restored Novgorod icons were displayed, a symbol of the unique national artistic genius in Russia, and of an art aesthetic that transcended past eras and defied nationality. Such works changed the status of the icon as an object for the religious or aristocratic elite to "the chief expression of religious thought and popular feeling…"[120] The critics saw icons as a model for innovations in modern Russian art. Indeed, Kondakov called for the resurgence of spiritualism in the modernist aesthetic through the utilisation of ancient art objects.[121]

Larionov was a prime advocate of this paradigm, evoking not only the formal qualities of icons in his work but also their ideological significance. His most manifest citing of the icon tradition can be seen in his *Self Portrait* (1910), (Fig. 8), in which he depicts himself in the paradigmatic pose of the 'saint' figure found in icons. In a manner similar to the conventions of icon portraiture, Larionov's portrait is compressed by the canvas, filling the expanse of the picture space to its entirety with the arms and head almost forcing themselves from the

[119] Warren, (2013): 111-2.
[120] N. Kondakov, (1927). *The Russian Icon*, translated by E. Minns. Clarendon Press, Oxford: 2.
[121] Warren, (2013): 113, 120, 122, 125.

restrictions of its edges. The symmetry typical of icon strictures is achieved through the elongation of Larionov's head, neck and torso, a stylistic device frequently utilised in the icon tradition. Larionov's crude interplay between the white and ochre verticals of his shirt are a deliberate parody of the stylised iconography of drapery folds depicted in icons, with his sharp collar functioning as the saint's stole, usually worn around the neck, and the rudimentary dark outlining around the head suggestive of a halo. The ochre and brown tonal colour scheme further implies the effect of wood panelling as opposed to a painted canvas. Finally, the script depicted in the right-hand corner of the work, identifying the painting as the "Self-Portrait of Larionov" is further reminiscent of the icon tradition for it occurs in the same area as is usually occupied by the saint's attribution. Larionov's work acts as a subversive parody on the icon tradition audaciously replacing the consecrated image with a crudely 'primitive' grinning face as an emblem of his innovative aesthetic.[122] By utilising the formal conventions of icon portraiture but overlaying them with 'primitive' parody Larionov overtly mocks a traditionally inviolable subject matter, a true signifier of cultural subversion, and a prerequisite to the promotion of 'naivety', with its inherent psychologically therapeutic properties, and subsequently a fundamental example of *dvoeverie* in art.

For Filonov, the conception of *dvoeverie* would become fundamental to his expression of modernism. It is through his language of *dvoeverie* that we can see the re-emergence of shamanic sensibilities in Filonov's visual expression. Filonov's interpretation of *dvoeverie* is ultimately holistic for it juxtaposes symbols from pagan and religious rituals alongside contemporary and scientific ideas to achieve a universal language which transcends cultural barriers and can thus have a therapeutic goal. Filonov's advice to his students illustrates the significance he placed on utilising multiple sources:

> "…study nature as the great natural scientists do...Read the history of science and the history of culture and read books on ethnography. Study the folk art of all countries. Look at zoological and botanical atlases."[123]

Here we see Filonov seeking a universal message through the juxtaposition of ethnographic and scientific sources. In this manner he prefigures the importance of Jung's collective archetypes on the reunification of the consciousness. For he encourages his students to look for commonality throughout all areas of scholarship, and to train their psyche in the comprehension of archetypes, for equipped with this awareness psychological health could be achieved.

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[122] Parton, (1993): 87-88.
[123] P. Filonov, (1940). "Letter to Baskanchin". In *Pavel Filonov: A Hero and his Fate*, 1983, edited by J. Bowlt, and N. Misler. Silvergirl, Inc., Hong Kong: 291, 294.

Filonov certainly heeded his own advice, and expresses *dvoeverie* most apparently in his iconography, particularly in his earlier works. This can be seen in works such as *The Feast of Kings* (1913), (Fig. 9), in which a number of figures appear seated around a feast. The canvas conveys a feeling of oppressive dehumanised solemnity in the partaking of a shared ritual. This sense is heightened by the distorted and somewhat grotesque nude, sometimes even fleshless figures, portrayed with a dark rustic palette.[124] The composition of the work shows evident relation to the 'primitive' aesthetic prerequisites of folk *lubok* prints with its mono-planar depiction of the characters and largely inverted perspective. There is further evidence of Filonov's interest in the *lubok* tradition, in the same year he exhibited a work entitled *Design for a Lubok Painting* (1912) in the Union of Youth exhibition (1913-14). This *lubok* influence in composition is juxtaposed with references taken from the icon tradition, seen in the manner in which the objects are crowded into the pictorial space. Such conglomeration and superimposition of images was a common stylistic device seen in icons and church frescoes.[125] The opulent scarlet and gold tones with which Filonov executes the work has further relation to the religious icon.[126] The three figures at the back of the composition sit with their arms crossed in a manner reminiscent of the trinity and the feast they are enjoying consists of fish and fruits highly symbolic foods in the Christian tradition.[127] The central figure, pensive with folded arms is iconographically similar to the traditional depiction of St Nicholas.[128] Filonov frequently researched and even painted icons, such as his classically executed *St Catherine the Great Martyr* (1908-10).[129] [130] Buzina argues that Filonov was further attracted to the status the icon-painter afforded himself, the conveyer of the ineffable countenance of God.[131] Certainly Filonov attempts to take up this symbolic role, as a mystical painter not of god but of a mystical language transcending the human realm. Filonov

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[124] J. Howard, (1992). *The Union of Youth: An Artist's Society of the Russian Avant-Garde*. Manchester University Press, Manchester: 192.

[125] Filonov may well have been inspired by the 16th-century frescoes found in Moscow's Cathedral of the Annunciation. Unfortunately, in 1882 the originals were painted over, despite this, it is likely that Filonov would have seen photographs of the original designs. For commentary and illustrations see: I. Grabar, (1911). *Istoriia russkogo iskusstva [History of Russian Art]*. Vol. 6. Izdanie I. Knebel, Moscow: 287-96. C.f. J. Bowlt, (1975a). "Pavel Filonov: An Alternative Tradition?" *Art Journal* Vol. 34, No. 3: 213; J. Bowlt, (1973b). "Pavel Filonov". *Studio International*. Vol. 186, No. 957: 31.

[126] Howard, (1992): 192.

[127] N. Misler, (2006). "The Image Decomposing: Five Stations In The Art of Pavel Filonov". In *Pavel Filonov: Seer of the Invisible*, edited by Y. Petrova. Palace Editions, St Petersburg: 34.

[128] J. Bowlt, (1983). "Pavel Filonov and Russian Modernism". In *Pavel Filonov: A Hero and his Fate*, edited by J. Bowlt, & N. Misler. Silvergirl, Inc., Hong Kong: 9.

[129] It is likely that Filonov would have come into contact with the collections of *lubki* compiled Dmitrii Rovinsky, Rovinsky also reproduced them in several studies including: D. Rovinsky, (1881). *Russkie narodnye kartinki [Russian Folk Pictures]*. Books on Demand, St Petersburg; C.f. Bowlt, (1983): 9.

[130] Misler, (2006): 34.

[131] O. Buzina, (2006). "Pavel Filonov: East and West". In *Pavel Filonov: Seer of the Invisible*, edited by Y. Petrova. Palace Editions, St Petersburg: 50.

further juxtaposes these elements with the stylistic principles of another largely 'primitive' tradition, that of shamanic, pre-Christian and early Christian Scandinavian and Slavic artefacts. Filonov was greatly interested in the wooden and stone effigies prominent in the ancient cultures of Finland, Siberia, and south Russia. In *The Feast of Kings* Bowlt argues that Filonov transfers the formal characteristics of traditional *kamennye baby*. It would appear that his figures have a certain severity of feature, clumsy, magnified anatomical proportions, and largely rounded shape thus evoking a lapidary, ponderous quality.[132] The work is a true emblem of *dvoeverie* utilising sources from religious, pagan and folk traditions to create an atmospheric piece which expresses universalism through a diverse symbolic language, and hence acts as a prerequisite to psychological health through the apprehension of 'collective archetypes'.

Malevich was also drawn to the religious significance of both the icon tradition and shamanic sensibilities in the Jungian sense as he expressed the phenomenon of *dvoeverie*. He stated, "I search for God, I search within myself for myself…I search for God, I search for my face, I have already drawn its outline and I strive to incarnate myself…", a statement which sheds an intimate spiritual light upon the very essence of his stridently modern works.[133] His paintings, which at first appear profoundly rational and geometric, arguably use the visual elegance of this language to explore space, colour and movement, camouflaging ancient Russian religious motifs in a revelation of the world as a dynamic and spiritualised realm.[134] Malevich appears to require a fundamental depth in his works which he seeks outside the visible realm, utilising the phenomenon of *dvoeverie*, and other forms of mysticism to endow his works with a spiritual quality. This insistence on seeking and presenting 'God' in his work is perhaps an indication of Malevich's awareness of the loss of spiritualism in modern man and the perilous toll that this had taken on the psyche, and thus he manifestly expresses his attempt to reassert spiritualism in the consciousness of modern man and hence realign what Jung later described as psychic 'disassociation'.

The most manifest evidence of Malevich's utilisation of this notion can be found in his earliest works characterised by their peasant protagonists and naiveté of expression. Working in the 'primitive' tradition established by Gauguin, Malevich's peasants embody the idealised

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[132] Bowlt, (1975a): 213; J. Bowlt, (1975b). "Pavel Filonov: His Painting and Theory". *Russian Review*. Vol. 34, No. 3: 288-9; Y. Petrova, (2006a). "Filonov Undiscovered". In *Pavel Filonov: Seer of the Invisible*, edited by Y. Petrova. Palace Editions, St Petersburg: 7; Howard, (1992): 192.
[133] K. Malevich, (1978). *The Artist, Infinity, Suprematism, (Unpublished Writings 1913-33)*. Edited T. Andersen. Borgen, Copenhagen: 12.
[134] R. Lipsey, (1988). *The Spiritual in Twentieth-Century Art*. Shambhala Publications, New York: 131.

conception of the 'Noble Savage', living amongst the rural utopian idyll.[135] Malevich expresses their naïve innocence and ritual symbolism through the inspiration of various artistic mediums, for example the *lubok* print, the Russian icon tradition, in particular its symbolic role as a mediator between the viewer and god, and *kamennye baby*.[136] A work exemplifying Malevich's use of these sources is *Peasant Women at Church* (1912), (Fig. 10), which depicts a group of women at an apparently religious ceremony.[137] The entire perspectival space of the canvas appears to have been 'crowded out' by these women so that they ultimately lose any formal identity and appear as a cylindrical pattern of crude shapes. Such a device is reminiscent of the crowd scenes of Byzantine icons.[138] In the repetitive movement of their gestures, most likely the simultaneous expression of the sign of the cross, the women appear to encapsulate a monumental frieze-like composition, enhanced by the four hands which punctuate the work and emphasise its two-dimensionality. Interestingly, the reverent gesture demonstrated by these women is actually evocative of the blessing sign of old believers, religious dissenters who defied Peter the Great's religious reforms, and were ousted from contemporary society to continue practising their traditional religious customs, a further layer to Malevich's expression of *dvoeverie*, and a suggestion that the artist is looking towards older and more pagan origins for spirituality.[139] Malevich combines these apparently Orthodox devices with the depiction of the women with a massive solidity of form evocative perhaps of *kamennye baby* and significant of the shamanic ritualistic worship of nature. Their indigenous character is intensified by Malevich's crude expression, a rough, tactile surface, and the 'primitive' device of outlining in heavy black lines, exaggerating the eyes, something also characteristic of church mosaics and icons.[140] Of course Malevich's peasants could simply be stereotypical representations of squat, rustic peasant women with no particular allusions in mind, but their engagement in spiritual activities in a manner evocative of spiritualised techniques suggests that Malevich is in fact utilising the phenomenon of *dvoeverie* in the work both through formal depiction and in its subject matter. Such an expression suggests the fundamental sensation of submission to both an underlying uniform consciousness.

Whilst the concept of *dvoeverie* might appear more manifestly in his earlier works this is not to say that Malevich abandoned the search for underlying spiritual mysticism as he entered

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[135] K. Varnedoe, (1984). "Gauguin". In *"Primitivism" in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern,* edited by W. Rubin. Museum of Modern Art Publications, New York: 180.
[136] Lipsey, (1988): 133.
[137] This canvas is actually the verso of Malevich's *The Woodcutter* (1912); c.f. J. Milner, (2014). "Malevich: Becoming Russian". In *Malevich*, edited by A. Borchardt-Hume. Tate Publications, London: 52.
[138] C. Gray, (1962). *The Russian Experiment in Art: 1863-1922*. H. N. Abrams, London: 148.
[139] John Milner discussed this in his closing keynote speech at the CCRAC Conference on 10th December 2013.
[140] C. Douglas, (1994). *Kazimir Malevich*. H. N. Abrams, New York: 13-14.

his Suprematist phase. Indeed, Malevich's term Suprematism originated from the term 'supernaturalism', a name he intended to use until he discovered that it was a term already adopted by a German philosophical school and consequently he turned to Suprematism.[141] But 'supernaturalism' may perhaps have been more apt, for in 1915, at the dawn of the movement, Malevich wrote "We must prepare ourselves by prayer to embrace the sky".[142] He embarked upon a 'vision quest' expressed through imagery of transformation and the desert, the inner rewards of austerity and the flight of the spirit.[143] Malevich began his ascent into the ether by redefining and liberating artistic expression, he achieved this by removing the veil of objective reality. The value of art was no longer in its representation of naturalism but rather in the opposite of this, through stark non-objective geometric precision[144]. Malevich proclaimed that Suprematism "is not the end of art…but the beginning of true essence". [145] As such he claimed, "The Suprematists have deliberately given up objective representation of their surroundings in order to reach the summit of the true "unmasked" art".[146] Thus Malevich attributed an icon-like quality to his Suprematist movement. By removing objective representation Suprematism represented a higher spiritual realm and provided the means of its attainment, in the same manner as an icon assimilates a connection to a higher deity. Jung would later argue that abstraction was in fact the artist's expression of the unconscious, the most actively spiritual and instinctive element of the psyche.[147]

The most iconic expression of the higher spirituality Malevich defined for the new art can be found in his *Black Square* of 1915, (Fig. 11). The work which depicts an emblematic black square on a white ground, distinguished more significantly by what is absent than by what is represented, acted as a vehicle for the breakthrough into a new vision.[148] The square itself is a symbolic shape, for it was central to the early Russian iconic depiction, Alpatov states that frequently the surface of an Novgorodian icon would be divided into squares, and according to Grineizen, in an essay entitled 'The Illusionistic Portrait', published in 1914, the square in ancient funerary portraiture represented *ka*, or the soul of the deceased.[149] The *ka* is a spiritual double which is unrestricted by the conventional laws of three-dimensional space and as such it is able

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[141] Lipsey, (1988): 131.
[142] Malevich, (1978): 14.
[143] Lipsey, (1988): 136.
[144] K. Blank, (1995). "Lev Tolstoy's Suprematist Icon-Painting". *Elementa.* Vol. 2: 77.
[145] K. Malevich, (1920b). "Suprematizin: 34 risunka" ["Suprematism 34 Drawings"]. In *K.S. Malevich: Essays on Art 1915-1933*. (1968), edited by T. Andersen, and translated by X. Glowacki-Prus. Vol. 1. Borgen, Copenhagen: 146.
[146] Malevich, (1920b): 126.
[147] Jaffé, (1964): 311.
[148] Lipsey, (1988): 136.
[149] M. Alpatov, (1978). *Early Russian Icon Painting.* Iskusstvo, Moscow: 53.

to traverse the realms uninhibited.[150] By connecting his iconic square to *ka* Malevich enables the viewer to access a higher spiritual dimension. Jung would argue that the square represented the 'earthly' element of the consciousness, its primal connection to the land and nature, and by projecting it onto the canvas the artist was both reinforcing this connection, and transposing his 'Self' onto a cosmic plane.[151]

Malevich emphasises the anthropomorphic quality he assigns to the quadrilateral form when he states:

> "Any painting surface is more alive than any face from which a pair of eyes and a grin jut out... But the surface lives, has been born. It is the face of the new art. The square is a living royal infant. I have arrived at the surface and can take the dimension of a living body. But I shall use the dimension from which I shall create the new."[152]

It is interesting to note that Malevich refers to the square as 'a living royal infant', a role that equates dramatically to that of the infant Christ. He evokes a certain divinity in his expression of the ecstasy and innovation which comes hand-in-hand with its discovery and creation. Such ecstasy is exemplified in the fact that it was documented that after Malevich had finished the work he could not eat, sleep or drink for a whole week.[153] An inherently mystical experience for it has been reported that many different groups of mystics, including shamans, frequently underwent intense periods of fasting and isolation as they began to engage in their new spiritual roles.[154] The significance of this powerful work evokes an experience of rebirth formulated through a spiritual conversion.[155] Such an important spiritual journey, originating from enigmatic discovery through to spiritual rebirth and culminating in ecstatic innovation, is a fundamental aspect of mystical ideologies, particularly for neophytes or those who are selected to become prophetic figures in their spiritual dominion. This coupled with the function of the Christian icon as a medium between its viewer and a higher deity, enabled Malevich's *Black Square*, through its supreme simplicity, to act as the ultimate expression of *dvoeverie*. Such implied symbolism has enabled Malevich's dramatic canvas to encompass three of Jung's 'collective archetypes': The 'archetype of transcendence', through its ability to transport the viewer to another deity or realm,

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[150] W. Sherwin Simons, (1978). "Kasimir Malevich's "Black Square": The Transformed Self: Part One: Cubism and the Illusionistic Portrait". *Arts Magazine.* Vol. 53, No. 2: 116, 123-4.
[151] Jaffé, (1964): 267.
[152] K. Malevich, (1916a). "Ot kubizma i futurizma *k* suprematizmu: Novyi zhivopisnyi realizm" ["'From Cubism and Futurism to Suprematism': The New Realism in Painting"]. In *K.S. Malevich: Essays on Art 1915-1933*. 1968, edited by T. Andersen, and translated by X. Glowacki-Prus. Vol. 1. Borgen, Copenhagen: 19-41.
[153] B. Jakovljevic, (2004). "Unframe Malevich!: Ineffability and Sublimity in Suprematism". *Art Journal.* Vol. 63, No. 3: 19.
[154] C.f. Eliade, (1964): 33-66.
[155] W. Sherwin Simons, (1978). "Kasimir Malevich's "Black Square": The Transformed Self: Part Three: The Icon Unmasked". *Arts Magazine.* Vol. 53, No. 2: 129.

Jung's allegory for the unconscious' attempt to access the conscious; the 'archetype of initiation', through the symbolism of rebirth; and in connecting it to 'the living Royal infant', Malevich even assigns a 'heroic' status to his geometric protagonist, a work which had the potential to stimulate genuine psychological healing.

Malevich stated in reference to the *Black Square*; "I see in it what people at one time used to see before the face of God", solidifying its icon-like status.[156] This status is further heightened by Malevich's understanding of geometric nihilism. As he proclaims:

> "The aspiration of humanity to higher realms….The essence of God, however, is the zero-salvation. Therein lies together the salvation zero, like a circle of transformations of all objectivities into non-objectivities."[157]

In this quote Malevich explains the fundamental simplicity of his new geometric vision; by reducing everything to a simple geometric black square, a 'zero of form' he has through its non-objectivity revealed its ultimate essence and subsequently enabled cultural salvation through its perception. As he later explains "The black square on the white field was the first form in which non-objective sensation came to be expressed. The square = sensation, the white field = the void beyond this sensation."[158] Furthermore, Malevich exhibited the *Black Square* as an icon. The work was hung diagonally across an upper corner of the room, reminiscent of the *krasnyi ugol*, or 'fair corner', the conventional place of an icon in the Russian home.[159] This symbolic position was deliberate, Malevich declared: "The corner symbolises that there is no other path to perfection except for the path into the corner."[160]As an icon, the *Black Square* signified Malevich's own evolution into a transformed state, a 'trance-like' existence accessing the higher dimensions. But the symbolism went further, for by hanging the *Black Square* in the conventional position of the icon he not only connected his work to the earlier tradition but he also transvalued it.[161] Thus Malevich expresses the concept of *dvoeverie* through his utilisation of both formal and symbolic

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[156] S. Bojko, (2009). "Malevich's Letters". In *From Surface To Space, Malevich & Early Modern Art,* edited by F. Emslander. Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe: 54; Sherwin Simons, (1978) III: 1, 4; L. Hilbersheimer, (1960-1961). "Malevich and the Non-Objective World," *Art Journal*, Vol. 20, No. 2: 83.

[157] H. Riesen, (1962). *Kasimir Malewitsch, Suprematismus: Die gegenstandlose Welt [Kasimir Malevich, Suprematism: The Non-Representational world]*. Cologne: 57.

[158] Malevich quoted in R. Herbert, ed. (2000). *Modern Artists on Art.* Dover Publications, New York: 116-125.

[159] For the display of icons and their use throughout Russia see Kondakov, (1927): 34; Sherwin Simons, (1978) III: 130; Blank, (1995): 73; Lipsey, (1988): 136; Milner, (1996): 122: A. Borchardt-Hume, (2014). "An Icon for a Modern Age". In *Malevich*, edited by A. Borchardt-Hume. Tate Publications, London: 25; C. Lodder, (2014). "Malevich as Exhibition Maker". In *Malevich*, edited by A. Borchardt-Hume. Tate Publications, London: 94.

[160] This quote can be found in an appendix to Malevich's unpublished work: *Mir kak bespredmetnost [The World as Non-Objectivity]*, c.f. K. Malevich, (1925). "Mir kak bespredmetnost" ["The World as Non-Objectivity"]. In *K.S. Malevich: The World as Non-Objectivity, Unpublished Writings: 1922-25*. 1967, edited by T. Andersen, and translated by X. Glowacki-Prus and E. Little. Borgen, Copenhagen: 354.

[161] Sherwin Simons, (1978) III: 134.

aspects inherent in the icon tradition. His abstract forms create a sensation of archetypal timelessness and ultimately express the mysticism of higher realms.[162]

Malevich established his 'black square' as a progenitor of all forms. This is evidenced in the startling installation of his Suprematist works at the *0,10* exhibition, (Fig.12). Malevich hung his canvases in such a way that he formulated rhythmic relationships not only within the formal composition of the paintings themselves but also between one canvas and another, so that each canvas related to the next and by extension related to the overall composition of the installation. This network of relationships reaches its pinnacle in *The Black Square*, hung evocatively in the place of central importance, the corner, significant of its procreative aspirations. In this manner Malevich mimicked the generating properties of a geometric series, such as the Fibonacci sequence, in which each number is related to the numbers both before and after it, just as the *Black Square* generated proportions to form a potentially infinite harmonic system within the canvases themselves and in their network of spaces.[163] By fulfilling such a role Malevich makes his 'royal infant' allegorical of the figure of Christ whose divinity was supposed to unite humanity, or perhaps its mysticism can be paralleled in the shaman, who utilises his powers for cosmic equilibrium, achieved here by the harmonious network of canvases. Both interpretations signify Malevich's perception of the psychological yearning for unity, which the artist hopes to facilitate through the dramatic symbolism of his *Black Square*.

Malevich further emphasises the generative qualities of his *Black Square* by leaving it unframed. The significance of this has been explained by Schapiro in his essay "On Some Problems in the Semiotics of Visual Art", in which he claims that a frame encompasses a picture in "a homogenous enclosure like a city wall".[164] By contrast, the 'frameless picture' juxtaposes the painting with its environment, blurring the boundaries between their specific realms and thus endowing it with a more hegemonic status. By leaving his image unframed, Malevich demonstrates that 'non-objectivity' cannot be contained. By hanging it on the corner of the gallery he maximally implies that the entire cosmic universe hinges on its existence.[165] Such a manifest expression of harmony suggests that Malevich was undergoing a mystical quest, something which was well within the parameters of the hermetic tradition, a tradition well-known in Moscow and St Petersburg at this time. Alchemy focussed on the relationship of humanity to god and by extension the entirety of creation through its study of geometric shapes.

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[162] Douglas, (1994): 38.
[163] Milner, (1996): 126.
[164] M. Schapiro, (1994). *Theory and Philosophy of Art: Style, Artist, and Society; Selected Papers*. George Braziller Inc., New York: 7.
[165] Jakovljevic, (2004): 27-28, 31.

The darkest moment at the depths of despair is known as 'nigredo' a stage visually embodied often by a black quadrilateral. Furthermore, in alchemic myth, purification and sublimation can only occur when a son, a 'living royal infant' is born to Luna and Sol thus displacing their ideals. It may be suggested that from its origins in *Victory over the Sun* to its manifestation at 0,10, the journey to Suprematism signified Malevich's search for a hermetic or spiritual rebirth, for as in the alchemic tradition, Sol, the sun, must perish so that a purer rebirth may be actualised.[166] The desire for 'spiritual rebirth' is essentially religious, for many neophytes during their initiation must endure a mystical destruction and resurrection, before they can take up their mystical mantle. Thus at the dawn of Suprematism Malevich seeks to prepare himself to become the paradigmatic prophetic artist, an artist who had the mystical power to facilitate psychological healing through the medium of his work.

For Kandinsky the principle of *dvoeverie* would most manifestly be expressed in the language of lore and mythology. Mythological literature and ideas are fundamental to our understanding of the resurgence of shamanic sensibilities in this period, for mythology offered a means of transcendent escapism and advocated profound moral values. The shamanic phenomenon, like many religious phenomena, centres around a mythological conception of the cosmos. As we have seen, myths form a fundamental part of our subconscious' attempt to access the conscious, thus by utilising mythological archetypes Kandinsky was tapping into both a rich symbolic tradition and anticipating a means to facilitate psychological healing. One of Kandinsky's earliest depictions of the phenomenon of *dvoeverie* is the work *Twilight* (1901), (Fig. 13), which portrays a knight charging towards a daisy-like flower across a romantic landscape, surrounded by fir trees, lit only by a crescent moon and a star. The knight's lance appears to radiate flickers of light implying that his mission is a moral one, further evidenced by his white horse. While the scene is ambiguous, the flower has a dual symbolic emphasis both to the romantic conception of the *Blaue Blume*, a symbol of inspiration, a metaphysical striving for the infinite and the unity of humanity with nature and the spirit, and to the Zyrian pagan spirit of the grain and rye, Poludnitsa, whom Kandinsky had discussed in his 1889 essay on the Zyrians, connecting her to the Zyrian name for the typical blue cornflower which literally translates as "Eye of Poludnitsa".[167] The crescent moon and star clearly imply that the time is closer to midnight than midday, Poludnitsa's hour, yet the imminent collision between the galloping knight and the blue flower hint at the constant battle between Christianity and paganism in Russia, an evident reference to the phenomenon of *dvoeverie*. The Russian word for cornflower,

[166] Milner, (1996): 127.
[167] C.f. H. Eicheim, (2001): *Blaue Blume*. Germany.

vasilëk, suggests that in this work Kandinsky assumed a metaphorical signature.[168] If this picture can truly be seen as self-referential, then certainly the valiant rider astride a white horse already suggests the artist's subsequent self-identification with the figure of Egori the Brave, joining even within himself both pagan and Christian characteristics. While it may perhaps be considered to be futile to impose such symbolic weight on an evidently decorative work, it is worthwhile to regard this piece in the context of the oil painting *The Blue Rider* (1903), (Fig. 14). This work depicts a correspondingly mysterious rider on a white horse galloping across a forested landscape.[169] *Twilight* has further symbolic significance, according to Weiss, in the context of Kandinsky's later iconography and symbolism surrounding the horse and rider, for she suggests that he uses this motif based on the metaphorical identification of the shaman and his drum with a rider and his horse. Jung would argue that the universalism of animal images, expressed throughout pagan imagery, is symbolic of the 'collective unconscious'. Earthly animals, such as horses, provide a chthonic message to the conscious and remind it of our primal instinctive urges.[170]

The culmination of Kandinsky's early concern with the phenomenon of *dvoeverie* can be seen in the work *Motley Life* (1907), (Fig. 15). When considered in the context of both Kandinsky's ethnographic training and writing and his own reading of the resources, we can see the vocabulary of *dvoeverie* asserting itself throughout the work. Weiss argues that *Motley Life* could be considered one of Kandinsky's most overtly shamanic works.[171] At first glance the painting seems to be an assortment of colourful characters wandering aimlessly in an autumnal landscape, with an imposing city raised in solitary radiance atop a mountain. Gradually as one's eyes scan the work groups of motifs and directions of movement are perceptible. In fact, the painting appears to be formed from a selection of contrapuntal contrasts: old and young, life and death, peace and war, love and hate.[172]

Before considering the figures depicted in the painting one might speculate that the phenomenon of *dvoeverie* can be seen in the landscape. Kandinsky seems to depict a typical scene at the convergence of two rivers in Ust Sysolsk's market-town, a region which was thoroughly

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[168] Weiss, (1995): 35; on the conjunction of midday and midnight as special times for fundamental changes in life in Russian and Finno-Ugric mythology see F. Oinas, (1985). "Russian Poludnica 'Midday Spirit'". In *Essays on Russian Folklore and Mythology,* edited by F. Oinas. Slavica Publishers, Columbus: 107.
[169] Weiss, (1995): 35.
[170] Henderson, (1964): 153; Jaffé, (1964): 264.
[171] Weiss, (1995): 49ff.
[172] Düchting, (2007): 20.

described by the philological historian Johannes Sjögren.[173] Kandinsky was likely to have been inspired by Sjögren, for Sjögren argued that the Zyrian population of Ust Sysolsk, despite the enforced Russification, had kept their original diversity even in the present, thus the population comprised a veritable mix, an example then of *dvoeverie*, and something which Kandinsky attempts to express in the assortment of costume and attitude depicted in the work.[174] Kandinsky's illustration of a rectangular-shaped hill dropping sharply to a river surmounted by a monastery appears to be an almost identical realisation of Johannes Sjögren's depiction of the site of a monastery built by St Stephen in 1390, in which he describes a distant hill of an "irregular rectangle" shape with a "high, isolated prospect", particularly considering artistic license.[175] Weiss argues that the work also has a 'Zyrian setting', which is evidenced by the depiction in the upper right of a small wooden structure, or *gorodk*, which functioned as both a storage house and a sacred idol shed for the Finnic Chuds, referenced by Sjögren, and described by Kandinsky in his travel diary.[176] She further argues that on the left in the background Chudic burial mounds are depicted, although this is hard to see, and that this would then act as a symmetrical antithesis with the Christian churchyard on the right.[177] Sjögren postulated that these burial places on sites formerly of sacred significance to the Chudic peoples were taken over by the Christians, who erected contemporary churches and graveyards on them, as a symbol of their dominance.[178] If we take Weiss analysis at face value then the landscape of *Motley Life* may be considered to both depict the symbolic location of St Stephen's monastery and hence the forthcoming "new Jerusalem", and acts as a pictorial representation of ancient Zyrian history juxtaposing pagan Chudic mythology with Russian orthodox religion. Thus perhaps it implies religious syncretism, a speculative expression of universal spiritualism as aspired by the unconscious.[179] Whilst this could be considered to be 'over-reading' the work, the apparent religious setting and the symbolic characters do lend themselves to an expression of *dvoeverie*.

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[173] C.f. A. Sjögren, (1861). *Gesammelte Schriften, Vol. 1, Historisch-ethnographische Abhandlungen über den finnisch-russischen Norden [Collected Writings, Vol. 1, Historical and Ethnographic Treatises on the Finnish-Russian North]*. St Petersburg; W. Kandinsky, (1889a). "Vologda Diary". Typescript translation by T. Alexandrova and A. Dmitriev. Original in Funds Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Musée National d'Art Moderne, Paris: 39

[174] C.f. A. Sjögren, (1861). "Die Syrjanen, ein historisch-statistisch-philologischer Versuch" ["The Zyrians, A Historical-Statistical-Philological Account. In *John Andreas Sjögrens Gesammelte Schriften [John Andreas Sjögren's Collected Writings],* edited by F. J. Wiedmann. Voss in Komm, Leipzig: 288.

[175] Sjögren (1861): 423-4; C.f. P. Weiss, (1985). "Kandinsky and the Symbolist Heritage". *Art Journal.* Vol. 45, No. 2: 137-145; P. Weiss, (1992). "Kandinsky's Shamanic Emigrations." *Acts of the Twenty-eight International Congress of the History of Art*. Vol. 1: 187-202.

[176] Weiss, (1995): 49.

[177] Ibid.

[178] Sjögren, (1969): 288.

[179] Weiss, (1995): 47, 49; C. Mckay, (1993). "Modernist Primitivism?: The Case of Kandinsky". *Oxford Art Journal.* Vol. 16, No. 2: 29.

If we examine the characters depicted in the work we can see Kandinsky juxtaposing protagonists steeped in mystical symbolism. The old man in the centre can perhaps be seen to have certain shamanic connotations. Whilst one might at first dismiss this identifying him as an archetypal Old Russian pilgrim visiting the holy sites depicted above, his pale-green beard suggests a supernatural alliance and thus his potential identification as an "old sorcerer" or shaman.[180] Directly behind the old man, seemingly growing out of his back, a large tree is depicted, a tree which Weiss argues emphasises his shamanic nature for it perhaps references the dwelling of the pagan spirits with whom he is joined. She further argues that the tree likely represents the 'cosmic' or 'world' tree, a common conception among shamanic societies, who believed that the shaman could access other realms through an axis which linked the three realms of the cosmic structure and was metaphorically often represented through the symbol of a tree.[181] Of course one must be careful not to read too much into pictoral motifs and it should be acknowledged that the tree could just be seen as symbolic of life rather than having shamanic overtones. Yet Weiss argues further for a shamanic identification for the figure using the fact that for the Votiaks, another Finno-Ugric tribe that Kandinsky knew through the work of his colleague Bogaevskii, the figure who acted as a didactic instructor for shamans was believed to be an old man. In the Vychegda region the Zyrian word *tödys* was used interchangeably to mean both an omniscient person and the shaman. Kandinsky's old man wears the plain belted tunic characteristic of the peasant dress of the Finno-Ugric tribes. Of course the image of a 'wise old man' is prevalent outside of shamanism, but Weiss argues that the stave which the old man holds also implies a shamanic reference, since for many Siberian tribes, the stave in trance became an allegorical "horse", on which the shaman rode to the "other realms" on his spiritual quest.[182] The Balagansk Buriats believed that the "master of the whole earth", or "Daban-Sagan-Noyen", took the form of a benevolent old man. It was primarily the Buriats who employed the shamanic horse-sticks for their journey.[183] Staves of course are widely usd by old men outside of

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[180] In the same sense the hair of *rusalka*, whose magical powers were notorious, was often described as green, see N. Moyle, (1987). "Mermaids (Rusalki) and Russian Beliefs about Women". In *New Studies in Russian Language and Literature*, edited by A. Crone & C. Chvany. Slavica Publishers, Columbus: 222.

[181] Weiss, (1995): 50-1.

[182] See F. Wiedemann, (1880). *Syrjänisch-Deutsches Wörtebuch nebst einem Wotjakisch-Deutschen im Anhange und einem deutschen Register [Zyrian-German Dictionary together with Jakisch-German words in the Appendix and a German Register]*. Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, St Petersburg: 345 (Kandinsky's dictionary). It is important to note that for the Cheremis the particular name for a shaman was 'kart' or 'old man', see P. Bogaevskii, (1890). "Ocherki religionnykh predstavlenii Votiakov" ["Studies on the Religious Beliefs of the Votiaks"], *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie [Ethnographic Review]*. Vol. 4, No. 1: 116-163; C.f. K. Nosilov, (1904). *U Vogulov: Ocherki i nabroski [Among the Voguls: Essays and Sketches]*. A. S. Suvorin, St Petersburg: 169 for a photograph of a Vogul shaman in similar clothes as Kandinsky's old 'shaman'; on horse-sticks c.f. V. Mikhailovski, (1895). "Shamanism in Siberia and European Russia". *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*. No. 24: 81-3; Eliade, (1964): 467.

[183] On Daban-Sagan-Noyen see Khangalov, (1890): 44.

shamanism and they have other significance beyond a specifically shamanic significance, but this adds to the archetypal nature of the image, as one which crosses cultural boundaries.

With the assimilation of shamanism into Buddhist practises, many revered shamanic deities were adopted by Buddhism and rearticulated with an appropriate canonical image. One such figure was 'the White Wise Elder', a mythological shamanic figure who featured prominently in the ideology of the Mongols. The Elder was believed to be the protector of the clan ancestry, chief of the locality, guardian of life, and was to be propitiated to ensure long life, welfare and fertility among all beings. Given the extent of his omnipotence and omni-benevolence, numerous sculptures and artistic depictions of him were produced especially among the Kalmyks (Oirats), Buriats and the Tuvans. In such representations the Elder is portrayed as an old bald man with a long white or grey beard, just like Kandinsky's figure. Such apparent syncretism led to the formation of figures known as *djochi*, [intermediaries] or *sagaan* ['Buddhist' or 'white' shamans], whose role combined the functions of a Buddhist leader and the shaman.[184] Frequently in Tuvan yurts, shamanic guardians, Russian Orthodox icons and Buddhist ceremonial objects would all be placed together in honour of ritual spiritualism.[185] Kandinsky's image then acts as a supreme example of *dvoeverie*, for one might argue that here he depicts the White Wise Elder, of shamanic and consequently, Buddhist reverence, in a deliberately ambiguous manner, suggestive of the Old Russian Orthodox pilgrim. Hence he expresses the desire for universal archetypes which transcend religious strictures and lead to the establishment of both cosmic equilibrium and psychological holism, through the reintegration of the unconscious with the conscious, achieved via an appreciation of universal spiritualism.

Another figure of interest is the mother and child, flanked by a child kneeling in prayer, who dramatically opposes the central 'old master' figure, for she acts as a reference to the orthodox reverence of the Virgin and Child. In the central horizontal axis then, there appears to be a juxtaposition of Christian and pagan symbolic imagery, a contrapuntal illustration of *dvoeverie*. Weiss argues that the mother-and-child imagery itself may also have a double meaning, for the so-called 'Virgin cult' in early Russia had also been related to the pagan reverence of Rozhanitsy, the goddess of fecundity and destiny. The ancient Russian veneration of the "Mother of God" figure had a deeper pagan significance in relation to "Mother Earth" or

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[184] M. Fedorova, (2013). "China, Tibet, Mongolia, Russia: A White Tara for the Crown Prince of All Russia. Buddhism and Shamanism in Ceremonial Objects". In *The Russian Avant-Garde Siberia and the East,* edited by J. Bowlt, N. Misler & E. Petrova. Skira, Florence: 75-7.

[185] S. Romanova, (2013). "Buddhism, Shamanism and the Peoples of Russia: Syncretism in Ceremonial Practises". In *The Russian Avant-Garde Siberia and the East,* edited by J. Bowlt, N. Misler & E. Petrova. Skira, Florence: 85.

"Mother of Creation".[186] Rozhanitsy was often associated with the ancient mythological figure Zolotaia Baba, or the "Golden Woman". The Golden Woman was frequently illustrated cradling a baby with a little child standing next to her, such a representation is found in Herberstein's work, an account which Kandinsky himself had cited.[187] The son of this 'Golden Woman' was named both the 'World-Watching Man' and the 'Golden Prince' among the northern Siberian tribes. He would subsequently be associated with the renowned Christian figures of Christ and St George.[188] In the light of this one might argue that Kandinsky is imbuing his mother and child motif with dual significance for he depicts, right beside her, a kneeling child with hands folded in prayer, in the same way as the Zolotaia Baba was described by Herbestein, and as she had so frequently been illustrated. The fact that Kandinsky had expressly cited Herbestein's account of the Zolotaia Baba in his essay on the Zyrians, coupled with his apparent knowledge of other pertinent ethnographic sources suggests that his *Motley Life* mother and child motif may lead a double life.[189] Kandinsky's multi-dimensional motif symbolic perhaps of the pagan and Christian 'mothers' implies that his painting acts as a pictorial expression of the ramifications of *dvoeverie*, a profound illustration of the multitudinous expressions of one symbolic subject.[190] The monk figure depicted in the far-left indicates the didactic role of the orthodox faith concerning the relationship between the living and the dead, which acts as a further juxtaposition to the equally venerated shamanic figure in the centre. Kandinsky, in his 1889 essay, more than once referenced the astonishing powers of such figures. He refers the reader to the fourteenth-century *Vitae* of St Stephen of Perm, the missionary saint who was accountable for the Zyrians' faith conversion.[191] One of the more detailed descriptions in the 'Life' portrays the contestation to establish who would obtain spiritual leadership between St Stephen and the revered shaman Pam.[192]

Weiss argues that the animals littering the landscape have further shamanic functions. The squirrel sitting in the tree, the focus of the archer below, perhaps provides a clue for the painting's location, since the harvesting of squirrel pelts was at that time as pivotal to the economy of the Ust Sysolsk region as the fir tree was pivotal to its spiritual calendar. The squirrel

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[186] G. Fedotov, (1960). *The Russian Religious Mind.* Vol. I. Harper, Cambridge: 349, 359-61.
[187] Kandinsky (1889b): 104; for a summary of historical accounts of the Zolotaia Baba, see B. Munkácsi, (1902) "Ältere Berichte über das Heidenthum der Wogulen und Ostiaken." ["Older reports of Paganism among the Voguls and the Ostiaks"]. *Keleti Szemle [Oriental Review]*, Vol. 3: 273 ff.
[188] Weiss, (1995): 51.
[189] W. Kandinsky, (1980). "Zyrian Ethnography". In *Kandinsky: Die Gesammelten Schriften [Kandinsky: The Collected Writings],* edited by J. Hahl-Koch & H. Roethel. Benteli, Bern: 69.
[190] Weiss, (1995): 51.
[191] Kandinsky, (1980): 68.
[192] Mckay, (1993): 29.

had a further role in the folklore of the northern natives, for the Zyrians believed that its pelt would be an apt sacrificial offering to the *leshak-mort* or forest 'master' spirit, and the Voguls considered it a mediator between the hunter-gather and the most hallowed god.[193] The cat in the lower right might not only resembles Kandinsky's own cat, Vaske, but also perhaps refers to the fact that in the ancient Chudic religion, domestic animals were particularly revered.[194] This is evidenced in a vast mythological study of the Finno-Ugrian natives published in 1927 by the Finnish sociologist and ethnologist, Uno Holmberg, who references Kandinsky's essay in this study. Holmberg states that, for the Zyrians and Finno-Ugrian peoples, a cat-shaped spirit was believed to gather all sorts of good items for its owners.[195] If we read the animal's symbolism in this way then the piece would suggest shamanic overtones, for shamanism was frequently found in hunter-gatherer societies and one of the primary roles of the shaman was to act as the "master of animals", utilising sacred animal spirits in his quest for cosmic equilibrium. However, one could argue that Kandinsky depicts the squirrel simply because it was a common animal in the Russian landscape, and the cat purely to reference his own pet. Either way the representation of animals may be seen to reinforce the unconscious element of the work, for as we have seen, animal expression in dreams or psychic episodes, signifies the collective unconscious and our primal instincts. Thus *Motley Life* is truly "motley". It appears to act as a vehicle by which Kandinsky sought to illustrate the multi-faceted nature of his artistic language. In it we can perhaps find remnants of his own experiences composed in a vibrant medley of vivid memories. One might speculate that he represents archaeological, shamanic, ethnographic and folkloristic elements which are thrown together in a dream-like concoction in an attempt to achieve psychological healing. But certainly a vital theme is revealed from this vast amalgamation of motifs, that of *dvoeverie*, which fundamentally expresses the universal duality of life.[196]

Kandinsky continued to depict the phenomenon of *dvoeverie* throughout his artistic oeuvre. In the *All Saints* series this duality is evidently expressed and we can see a growth in the artist's iconographic vocabulary based on his understanding of *dvoeverie*. It is interesting that

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[193] Sources that would have been known to Kandinsky include K. Popov, (1874). "Zyriane i Zyrianskii krai" ["Zyrians and Zyrian Territory"]. *Trudy Etnograficheskogo Otdela 3, No. 2, Izvestiia Imperatorskogo Obshchestva Liubetelei Estestvoznaniia, Antropologii i Etnografii. [Proceedings of the Department of Ethnography, Vol. 3, No. 2, Proceedings of the Imperial Society of Naturalists, Anthropology Ethnography*]. Vol.13, No. 2. Moscow, (cited by Kandinsky); for references to the mediating role of the squirrel see I. Paulson, (1964). "Seelenvorstellungen und Totenglaube der permischen und Wolga-finnischen Völker" ["Ideas of the Soul and Death in the Faith of the Permian and the Volga-Finnish Peoples"]. *Numen: International Review for the History of Religion 11*. No. 3: 212-242.

[194] Kandinsky, (1980): 70; Weiss, (1995): 52; see for example N. Ivanitskii, (1882). "K narodnoi meditsine. Vologodskoi gub." ["On Folk Medicine: Vologda Province"]. *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie [Ethnographic Review]*. Vol. 12, No. 1: 183 who describes a tale about a sorceress who returns from the dead as a cat; Mckay, (1993): 29-30.

[195] U. Holmberg, (1927). "Finno-Ugric, Siberian". *The Mythology of All Races*, Vol. 4. Marshall Jones, Boston: 163-4.

[196] Weiss, (1995): 52.

Kandinsky chose to depict 'all the saints' for it further suggests the importance he placed on the resurgence of universal spiritualism. When looking at the reverse glass painting *All Saints II* (1911), (Fig. 16), in this context, we can perhaps distinguish the figure of the renowned Zyrian shaman Pam, whose altercation with St Stephen, the so-called 'Enlightener' of Perm, on the banks of the Vychegda River was a well-known legend of which Kandinsky himself was aware from his journey to the Vychegda River.[197] Weiss argues that in this work Pam, marked out by his pointed "sorcerer's" cap, rows away in a small boat at the lower-left. According to Epiphanius' *Vitae* of St Stephen, which Kandinsky had in fact cited in his essay on the Zyrians, the shaman Pam was a great antagonist of the saint, their rivalry led to an open debate. After much discussion St Stephen proposed that they undertake a "divine trial by fire and water", in which they must first walk through a burning hut and then throw themselves into the raging Vychegda River. Pam, driven by fear, at once acknowledged his defeat and thus St Stephen was to have charge of the spiritual life of the people.[198]

In Kandinsky's version, the figure perhaps resembling Pam manages to escape drowning in the trial by resorting to a row-boat, of a type which was characteristic of the Vychegda River area. Kandinsky does not make his escape easy, depicting a *rusalka* attempting to clamber into his boat, her head and outstretched arms plainly visible just above the back of the boat, while another nude *rusalka* lies languidly on a rock by the water's edge.[199] On the promontory above stand two figures in an amicable embrace; one, in a pale tunic, carries a cross which suggests that he is St Stephen, an identification Weiss uses based on her suggested depiction of Pam in the work. The pair could also represent Cosmas and Damian, twin physician saints who were particularly beloved by the Vologdian peasants, who, according to Ivanitskii, worshipped them, praying for "enlightenment of the mind". The two figures could refer to the expected reconciliation between Christian and pagan religious beliefs which was hoped for by the contemporary Russian intellectuals. It is possible that Kandinsky intended several identifications for the figures, even as a symbolic reference to his and Franz Marc's relationship, at the moment of the Blue Rider's formation, as they undertook their 'revered' battle for the salvation of

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[197] Ibid: 56.

[198] Fedotov, (1960): II: 230-45; see W. Kandinsky, (1889b). "Iz materialov po etnografii Sysolskikh i Vychegodskikh Zyrian –natsionalnyia bozhestva (po sovremennym verovaniiam" ["From Materials on the Ethnography of the Sysol –and Vechegda –Zyrians –The National Deities (According to Contemporary Beliefs)"]. *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie [Ethnographic Review]*. Vol. 3: 103; according to Nalimov the Pam legends were still current among the Zyrians in his day c.f. V. Nalimov, (1903). "Zyrianskaia legenda o Pame Shipiche" ["A Zyrian Legend of Pam Shipicha"]. *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie [Ethnographic Review]*. Vol. 2, No. 57: 120-4.

[199] A *rusalka* can be defined as the soul of a jilted lover who has drowned herself from shame in the river and now lives a half-life to lure men to their deaths in the deeps.

humanity through art.[200] Amusingly, Kandinsky depicts all the figures, even the suggested Pam, with the golden halos of sainthood. In the same way, the majority are also shown wearing the pointed caps of shamans, a portrayal of *dvoeverie* and an illustration which implies the alliance of all the figures in perhaps a 'shamanistic' brotherhood of saints, a further evocation of the universal spiritualism required to reunify the consciousness. Above 'Pam', Weiss argues that St Elijah is depicted in a troika-drawn chariot riding headlong into the thundering heavens. Behind him trees on a hill seem to be caught up in the storm. In Finno-Ugric mythic lore, St Elijah had begun to symbolise the pagan thunder-god who commanded the weather and was likewise connected to the fertility of the earth and waters. Based on this reading it would seem that Kandinsky intends to relate St Elijah, veering his chariot through the darkening skies, with the "Thunderer" god of Finno-Ugric mythology.[201]

In the lower right, we can see another depiction of *dvoeverie*. A small haloed figure standing on a pillar perhaps can have dual significance, for Weiss argues that he represents both St Simeon the Stylite, and the 'second' Simeon from the Russian folktale *The Seven Simeons*. St Simeon was a Christian ascetic saint, who lived in meditation on a small platform atop a pillar and was renowned for his conversions of the pagans. In the tale of the seven Simeons, the eldest Simeon, a smith, builds an iron pillar, a shamanic tool, from which his brother might survey the whole world and foresee the future. When he stands upon it, his younger brother, the second Simeon, becomes a shamanic "all-seer". In fact, the 'cosmic pillar', has further shamanic allusions for would be symbolic of an *axis mundi*. Jung would argue that the concept of the *axis mundi* is psychologically symbolic of the eminent re-affiliation of the unconscious with the conscious, through the developmental growth of the psyche.[202] With the rapid escalation of Christianisation, the healing saints Cosmas and Damian, perhaps depicted to the left, were identified as the patron saints of smiths. But what would be most significant about this reading of the depiction is the association of the smith, or an artist and craftsman, with shamanic powers, a link which Kandinsky would have known from his reading of the *Kalevala*, for it was the "eternal smith", Ilmarinen, who had constructed the Sampo, a magical artefact which brought good fortune to its holder.[203] If we follow Weiss' reading then it would appear that Kandinsky has not only depicted a figure of dual symbolic reference, but has also begun to

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[200] Weiss, (1995): 58-9; P. Weiss, (1982). "Kandinsky in Munich: Encounters and Transformations". In *Kandinsky in Munich*. Guggenheim Museum Publications, New York: 75; See also Ivanitskii, (1892): 182-185. Significantly in this context, Marc had been a student of theology.
[201] Weiss, (1995): 58-9.
[202] Henderson, (1964): 152.
[203] Weiss, (1995): 58-9.

identify the artist as a mystical, shamanic figure.[204] Finally, Weiss argues that the saint on horseback with arms outstretched seems a further instance of *dvoeverie* representing both the Golden Prince/World-Watching-Man and St George, although here without his characteristic shield and spear. The fact that this figure lacks such accoutrements she argues implies that Kandinsky intends to make the 'primitive' figure more prominent. The Golden Prince, often envisaged upon a white horse as he undertakes his magical journeys across the world, was also related to the golden sun, which appears to cast its rays on Kandinsky's horseman. Furthermore, St George is frequently depicted carrying a shield bearing the image of the sun.[205] Even though Weiss' reading is based on probable speculation, it certainly seems to show the re-emergence of shamanic sensibilities in Kandinsky's work, and further suggests that as Kandinsky's artistic career progresses the phenomenon of *dvoeverie* had a significant impact on his iconography.

In the reverse painting on glass, *All Saints I* (1911), (Fig. 17), which is arguably the most apocalyptic of this series, Weiss further argues that Kandinsky expresses syncretic themes. Gabriele Münter called this particular work the "Russian All Saints", which implies that its protagonists come from a specifically Russian pantheon of saints and spirits.[206] If this is true, then the identification of the horseman, depicted in the lower left side of the painting, as St George is probable, since the saint was ubiquitous in Russian mythology. Here, St George carries a long white lance and his typical sun-emblazoned shield, which suggests his relation to the pagan figure of the Golden Son/World-Watching-Man and possibly also to Iarilo, a Finno-Ugric pagan god of the sun and fertility.[207] Weiss argues that this appropriation of mythological sun imagery through the figure of St George was to become a characteristic element of Kandinsky's work. For Jung, the representation of 'sun disks' in psychic episodes was symbolic of the totality of the psyche, and thus its expression here is perhaps an implication of the healing quest that the artist assigned to St George throughout this period.[208] Weiss states that St Stephen is depicted here in the same manner as he is in *All Saints I*, embracing the Zyrian convert, a symbolic motif. While behind them is perhaps St Vladimir, the founder of the Russian Orthodox Church –in fact another Wassily – who faces the heavens. Kandinsky, his namesake, believed himself to be the

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[204] Because of their power over fire and metals, smiths were perceived in ancient societies as possessing magical powers, especially with respect to healing, second only to that of shamans. Kannisto reported that among the Konda River Voguls, St Simeon was accepted as a healer. He also found that the Voguls associated the ancient thunder god with Iliia (St Elijah). On the smith as healer, see also G. Vernadsky, (1959). *The Origins of Russia*. Clarendon Press, Oxford: 136; Eliade, (1964): 470-4.
[205] Weiss, (1995): 60.
[206] For Münter's comment see H. Roethel, & J. Benjamin, (1982). *Kandinsky, Catalogue Raisonné of the Oil Paintings, Volume 1 (1900-1916)*. Cornell University Press, New York: 401.
[207] Weiss, (1995): 60.
[208] Jaffé, (1964): 266-7.

great "founder" of modern art and intended to bring about a new aesthetic era, and thus seems to have endowed this figure with dual significance. The dark clad monk seen earlier in *Motley Life* appears here lying recumbent as though in death or trance, a great flower emerges from him emblematic perhaps of resurrection and potentially allegorical of the cosmic "world tree", often represented as a giant flower on shamanic drums. In addition, the flower motif might be symbolic of Poludnitsa, the cornflower goddess whom Kandinsky had encountered earlier on his Vologdan trip.[209]

This scene appears then to act as an amalgamation of the syncretic All Saints' Day motif with that of a mythical Last Judgement. Although usually viewed as a Last Judgement painting, the work largely digresses from characteristic Last Judgement depictions, most especially in its lack of a judging Christ.[210] Instead, the crucified Christ is shown high up on a dark Golgotha, which appears to take the form of a Bavarian Marterl, or shrine. It does contain the Last Judgement motifs of a trumpeting angel on the left and behind this a vision of the New Jerusalem. Kandinsky has also depicted a small butterfly fluttering just above the monk. If we take Weiss' Finno-Ugric reading of the painting then this butterfly has symbolic significance, for the Finno-Ugric peoples believed that it was metaphorical of the soul leaving the body at death.[211] This significance is further enhanced by the image of a phoenix flying above it, the phoenix was also a symbol of resurrection for the early Christians which originated in the Arabic tradition. Weiss argues that a resurrection theme was intended for this work which is further emphasised by the figure restoring his severed head. A potentially shamanic motif, for among many shamanic tribes the initiating shaman had to suffer the dismemberment of his body, which culminated in the separation of the head from the rest of the body, and its subsequent restoration in order for him to receive shaman's gift of healing and clairvoyant perception.[212] Of course the images of a butterfly, phoenix and a severed head have significance outside of the Finno-Ugric, Christian and shamanic tradition. But their connection to rebirth suggests that Kandinsky is pre-figuring Jung's 'archetype of initiation'. It would seem then that Kandinsky's

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[209] Weiss, (1995): 60-2.

[210] Ibid; C.f. also R. Washton-Long, (1980a). *Kandinsky: The Development of an Abstract Style*. Clarendon Press, Oxford: 89-93 for a Last Judgement reading of this painting. Yet a strictly biblical reading is inconsistent with Kandinsky's use of multiple allusions.

[211] Weiss, (1995): 60-2; Holmberg, (1927): 8-9, 13, 240-1; see T. Sebeok & F. Ingemann, (1956). "Studies in Cheremis: The Supernatural". *The Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology*. No. 22. Aldine, New York: 233.

[212] Weiss, (1995): 60-2; a well-known source for this element of shamanic belief (i.e. the decapitation and resurrection of the shaman) that was contemporary with Kandinsky was Priklonskii, originally published in 1886, and again in 1890-1 in the popular journal *Zhivaia starina [Live Old]*. Priklonskii's studies had been cited in the same issue of the *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie [Ethnographic Review]* in which four of Kandinsky's book reviews appeared. For more on the shamanic belief c.f. Eliade, (1964): 36ff & 108-9; T. Lehtisalo, (1936-7). "Tod und Weidergeburt des künftigen Schamanen" ["The Death and Rebirth of the Future Shaman"]. *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougriene [Journal of the Finno-Ugric Society]*. Vol. 48: 3-34.

depiction of the resurrection theme is portrayed as a reverie on the phenomenon of *dvoeverie*, one which anticipates the search for psychological holism actualised through the perception of universal images.

Weiss argues that there are other syncretic images, such as a crowned female saint who is depicted clad in a lavishly patterned Russian peasant costume. It is likely that this figure is a representation of the Virgin Mary/Golden Woman motif. Kandinsky also depicts a giant-fish-and-boat motif, a motif, Weiss argues, of symbolic significance both in shamanic drum pictographic design and Finno-Ugric mythology. Since for both the Votiaks and the Zyrians, a 'vasa' or mighty water-spirit frequently took the form of a large pike, which is represented here, Kandinsky would have been familiar with the pivotal role of the pike in the Finnish epic, the Kalevala.[213] Of course one cannot be certain that Kandinsky intended a shamanic or Finno-Ugric association for the fish, he may have included the fish-and-boat as part of an expression of apocalyptic deluge, but there is a potential allusion given the context of his ethnographic training. Finally, Kandinsky painted the frame of this *Hinterglas* [reverse painting on glass] work with vibrant dabs of colour in a style which mirrors his favoured Russian and Bavarian folk art. With these interpretations in mind, it would appear that this image acts as an elaborate expression of *dvoeverie* combining motifs which have potential assosiations with both the Christian tale of the Last Judgement and the pagan Finno-Ugric and shamanic mythology, and thus is an expression of universal spiritualism.[214]

Filonov too became fascinated with myth. The most manifest example of the importance Filonov placed on mythology can be seen in the *Kalevala* project undertaken by his school and supervised by him in the period 1930-1933.[215] The *Kalevala* commission is a remarkably under-studied example of twentieth-century book illustration and demonstrates the unique venture of fourteen student-artists to produce a 'collective' work, subduing (though certainly not eradicating) their individual expression for a universal cause. As such it exudes commonality, a 'total' piece of art with visual and textual passages which are woven together in a tapestry of colour and symbol shrouded in shamanic significance.[216] The *Kalevala* is a Finnish national folk

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[213] On the Kalevala's boat-pike collision see M. Branch, ed., (1985). *Kalevala: The Land of Heroes*. Translated by W. Kirby. The Athlone Press, London: 516. According to Krohn, whales and boasts with rowers were among the earliest motifs on Lapp and Siberian shaman drums, c.f. K. Krohn, (1906). "Lappische beiträge zur germanischen mythologie" ["Lapp Contributions to Germanic Mythology"]. *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen [Finno-Ugric Resarch]*. Vol. 6: 155).

[214] Weiss, (1995): 62.

[215] The *Kalevala* was 'signed for the press' on 25th June 1933. The translation used was by Belsky, this was the standard 19th-century one. The editor of this edition was A. N. Tikhonov, Academia's head. C.f. R. Milner-Gulland, (1983). "'Masters of Analytic Art': Filonov, His School and the 'Kalevala'". *Leonardo* Vol. 16, No. 1: 24.

[216] Ibid: 21.

epic, which was organised into fifty cantos or runes by Elias Lonnrot, the 19th century academic.[217] It is a fable with deeply shamanic overtones, utilising syncretic symbols in a colourful tale of a hero who champions his cultural heritage over the forces of evil. It exemplifies not only Jung's archetype of 'the hero', but also is a model psychic 'cosmogonic myth', for it relates events through the struggle of the hero Väinämöinen, and details the origins of the world. The tale acts as a profound emblem of the national cause and is an example of the importance of myths in defining social behaviour and ultimately achieving cosmic harmony. The illustration of such a profoundly symbolic psychic and shamanic text acted as the ideal canvas to express the technical ability and breadth of vision offered by Filonov and his school. Through the work Filonov hoped his students would communicate a universal idiom that could be simultaneously overtly modern and yet ultimately 'primitive'. As such they would create a holistic realm in which humans, animals and nature could interact harmoniously, a realm which would ultimately facilitate psychic reunification. The most obvious expression of this unity is in the integration of illustration within the text exemplified by the depictions that act as a vertical division at the beginning of each rune, complimented by the unobtrusively diverse strips of folkloric ornamentation, largely produced by Alisa Poret, depicted along the top and bottom of all pages that adorn an otherwise uninterrupted text. Aside from these decorated bands the Kalevala project demonstrates a vast decorative scheme with ten full-page illustrations, an ornamented dust-jacket, frontispiece and two illustrative title-pages.[218]

To add to the sense of underlying universalism the illustrations themselves are neither attributed or signed: the book only contains the inscription "the work on the design of the book is by the collective of masters of Analytic Art [the School of Filonov]", with the fourteen surnames listed in alphabetical (Cyrillic) order: "Bortsova, Vakhrameev, Glebova, Zaklikovskaya, Zaltsman, Ivanov, Lesov, Makarov, Meshkov, Poret, Soboleva, Tagrina, Tsibasov, under the editorship of P. N. Filonov".[219] Although Filonov himself did not contribute any of his own illustrations but rather concerned himself with generally overseeing the endeavour his guiding presence can be sensed in the stylistic execution of many of the interior depictions, and in the elaborately vibrant dust-jacket.[220]

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[217] Ibid: 24.
[218] Ibid.
[219] C.f. *Kalevala: Finskii narodnyi epos [Kalevala: Finnish National Epic]*, (1933). Illustrated by Collective Masters of Analytical Art. Academia, Moscow; Milner-Gulland, (1983): 24.
[220] "At the end of this year or the beginning of 1933, the Academy publishing-house will put out a new Russian translation of the Kalevala intended for the export market. All the designs for this have been done by my pupils under my supervision.]" P. Filonov, (1929-32). "Autobiographies" In *Pavel Filonov: A Hero and his Fate*, 1983, edited by J. Bowlt, and N. Misler. Silvergirl, Inc., Hong Kong: 119; C.f. Bowlt, (1975b): 291-2; Bowlt, (1975a): 214; N.

From the outset Filonov's version of the *Kalevala* appears to be impregnated with shamanistic symbolism. The dust jacket, (Fig. 18), designed by Alisa Poret, depicts a prominent face which seems to engulf its surrounding shamanic landscape, in the form of scenes from the epic, including shamanic revered animals, such as reindeer, the mystical taiga, or forest, and the raging waters of the Evenk (Tungus) *axis mundi*. The dominant image, that of the face, is depicted in the manner of the wooden ritualistic masks worn by shamans during healing ceremonies, such as the Kamchatka mask of the Koryak peoples, (Fig. 19), a wooden sacramental mask measuring 28x18x5cm , acquired by the Russian Museum of Ethnography from the Iokhelson 1909-1911 expedition.[221] Poret's face has similarities to the mask in the prominence of its features, including a large triangular nose, smaller slitted eyes and an open mouth, the proportional layout of the face is also comparable as is the white highlighted sections of the cheeks. Her image recalls Filonov's *Heads* series and thus one might argue that she conflates the iconographic schema of her master with the ritualistic significance of shamanic masks, creating a work characterised by its universal spiritualism. Alisa Poret had a known interest in shamanic imagery, for previously, in 1930, under the pretext of providing anti-religious education for children, she had adorned a book with illustrations of shamanic spirit-helpers and idols, executed with detailed precision and spiritual sensitivity, including the tiger master spirit of the Udegei, (Fig. 20).[222] [223] The utilisation of such imagery contributes to the inherently shamanistic nature of the Kalevala itself.[224]

The larger illustrations add a further sense of unity to the work, seeming to parallel the desire for a shamanic cosmic equilibrium, and appear to be largely shamanic in nature. This can be seen in one of the most profound depictions of the work Glebova's illustration to Rune 1: *Introduction: The Origin of the World*, (Fig. 21), a haunting image in which a nude pregnant female dominates the distorted picture space seemingly engulfed by her surrounding landscape.[225] The meticulous linear network with which Glebova executed the work aids the integration of the human, animal and natural worlds suggestive of the biodynamic interrelation of all matter in a

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Misler, (1983a). "Pavel Filonov, Painter of Metamorphosis". In *Pavel Filonov: A Hero and his Fate*, edited by J. Bowlt, & N. Misler. Silvergirl, Inc., Hong Kong: 42.

[221] C.f. Bowlt, Misler & Petrova, (2013a): 250, 305.

[222] C.f. E. Papernaia, (1930). *Vystavka bogov [Exhibition of Gods]*, illustrated by Alisa Poret. Gosizdat, Leningrad.

[223] In 1930 the Moscow and St Petersburg universities published an atlas of historical religions which put emphasis on the customs and rituals of shamanism; C.f. T. Sem, (ed.), (2006). *Shamanizm narodov Sibrii. Etnograficheskie materialy XVIII-XX veka [Shamanism of the peoples of Siberia. Ethnographic materials from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries]*. Filologicheskii Fakultet SPbGU, St Petersburg: 76.

[224] N. Misler, (2013). "Idols of Stone, Idols of the Forest, Idols of the Moon: Prehistoric and Primitive Sources of the Russian Avant-Garde". In *The Russian Avant-Garde Siberia and the East*, edited by J. Bowlt, N. Misler & E. Petrova. Skira, Florence: 114; Bowlt, Misler & Petrova, (2013a): 305.

[225] C.f. *Kalevala* (1933): 3.

holistic equilibrium, whilst the evident distortion of perspective implies the transcendence of the allegorical 'distance' between past and present.[226] Such a profound depiction perceives Jung's 'cosmogonic myth' in its attempt to express the origins of the cosmos, and in its transcendent holism, implies an attempt to portray the means to achieve psychological unity. We can sense the presence of the master, for the same intimate link between man, plant and beast, and profoundly organic lines, can be found in many of Filonov's paintings.[227] The work takes on a seemingly shamanic significance when we consider what it is illustrating, for Rune 1 describes the birth of the 'shamanic' hero of the work, Väinämöinen. His mother, Illmatar, gestates for centuries in an attempt to give birth to her son. Glebova attempts to depict this passing of time in her work through the use of a fragmented picture space and meticulously detailed cell-like surroundings evocative of morphological growth. Her work becomes a realm of its own, an initially static depiction which embodies the fluid conception of time. In this way Glebova's work is perhaps allegorical of the shaman's drum. The use of ritualistic objects, such as the drum, is a fundamental aspect of shamanism, for the shaman utilises them to enter ecstatic trance and embark on his soul-journey.[228] Frequently, the drum skin becomes a medium for illustrative expression and thus acts as a microcosm reflective of the macrocosmic universe which the shaman will traverse on his journey.[229] Through her illustration, although notably more sophisticated than the standard shamanic drum illustrations, Glebova's work encapsulates the same phenomenon, a microcosmic expression of the macrocosmic passage of time. Such apparent spiritual symbolism further anticipates the artist's quest to achieve psychological reunification through the apprehension of collective archetypes, such as the 'hero', 'transcendence' and 'myth'.

This sense of connection between the realms is further exemplified in one of the most expressive illustrations of the work, Tsibasov's depiction of the meeting between Väinämöinen and Youkahainen illustrating the third Rune, (Fig. 22).[230] The Rune describes the clash between the two men, labelled 'wizards', and the spell, taking the form of a shamanic sung incantation, which Väinämöinen casts over Youkahainen, until he (Youkahainen) eventually accepts his defeat. This evocative drawing suggests the connection between animal, man and nature through the transmission of emotion into the animated expression of nature creating a fusion

[226] Milner-Gulland, (1983): 24.
[227] Bowlt, (1975a): 214-15.
[228] Mikhailovski, (1895): 78; Ripinsky-Naxon, (1993): 45; Eliade, (1964): 168; Vitebsky, (1995): 25.
[229] Eliade, (1964): 172-3; Mikhailovski, (1895): 80.
[230] C.f. *Kalevala,* (1933): 14.

between man and the primal natural world.[231] There is an apparent "human intelligence in the horses' faces, full of suffering. Not only are Youkahainen and Väinämöinen arguing in the drawing, but the horses and nature herself are, too."[232] Such a vivid association perceives Jung's concept that the frequent occurrence of animal images in psychic episodes evidences the inherent connection between man and animal due to man's primal instincts, a connection which modern man, in his new rationalised state, had chosen to ignore to his own detriment, and which the unconscious frequently attempts to reassert in its prolific representation of animals. Expressed in a haunted, nervous yet dynamic line, Tsibasov, paralleling Filonov's style, succeeds in creating an atmospheric work of unity. It is interesting that for the Buriat shaman, the horse was a profoundly symbolic animal, for it metaphorically represented the shamanic drum. A ubiquitous aspect of the shaman's soul-journey was the struggle he must undertake to achieve cosmic equilibrium. Frequently the shaman's struggle occurred with 'evil' spirits, but also with malevolent or 'black' shamans, as is perhaps suggested here. Jung would argue that these spirits or demons are actually man's projection of inner motives not controlled by his consciousness, whilst 'primitive' man projected these motifs onto mana or spirits to psychically deal with them, modern man has lost this ability and is less able to deal with dangerous inner motives.[233] Overall, Tsibasov's drawing arguably takes on a shamanic dimension, for it illustrates the scene with seemingly shamanic imagery and appears to be evocative of the shamanic ideals, in particular the connection between the realms and the potential desire for equilibrium, an anticipation of Jung's quest for psychological holism achieved through the expression and comprehension of universal spiritualism.

The ritualistic aspect of shamanism is a fundamental part of its symbolism and is a means to enter ecstatic trance and undertake the soul-journey. The significance of the shaman's costume is ubiquitous in shamanic documentation. Harva argues that the shamanic costume itself constitutes a manifestation of the sacred. It exhibits a divine presence, cosmic emblems and meta-psychic journeys.[234] The costume embodies a mystical microcosm qualitatively distinct from the surrounding profane atmosphere. It comprises practically an entire symbolic scheme and its initial consecration impregnated it with a multitude of spirits or spiritual forces. By the mere act of wearing it the shaman transcends profane space and is thus equipped to penetrate the spiritual

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[231] Bowlt, (1975b): 292.
[232] V. Bondarenko, (1974). "'Kalevala' i ee illiustratory" ["Kalevala and its Illustrators"]. *Sever*. No. 1: 113.
[233] Jung, (1964): 71.
[234] U. Harva, (1922). *The Shaman Costume and its Significance*. Turun Suomalainen Yliopisto, Henriksgatan; V. Mikhailovski, (1895): 81-85.

worlds.[235] In psychological terms, Jung would argue, by donning the costume, the wearer has transformed himself into an archetypal image, and thus its illustration here is of profound psychological significance.[236] The depictions illustrating Runes 7, 18, 35 and 36 then are of interest. The illustration of Rune 7, (Fig. 23), portrays a central figure, most likely Väinämöinen himself, whose form looms in the foreground, against an indistinguishable landscape.[237] The figure is adorned in highly decorative dress including a headband and pictographic patterned robes. According to Eliade, a Siberian shaman's costume usually consists of an outer caftan made of cloth or animal skin, decorated with iron disks and mythical animalistic figures, an iron or sometimes copper pectoral; and finally, a cap, one of the chief attributes of the shaman.[238] When one relates the depiction to a photograph of an Evenk (Tungus) shaman costume, (Fig. 24), if allowing for variations in shamanic clan costumes and artistic license, then there seems to be a strong comparison.[239] Here our figure apparently clad in the shamanic mantle of reverence embarks upon his tumultuous journey, reflected in the epic, for at this point Väinämöinen has been drifting in the sea for eight days before being taken by an eagle, most likely the embodiment of a shamanic spirit-helper, to the mystical land of Pohjola.

The depiction found illustrating Rune 36 (Fig. 25), portrays two figures conversing in a rural landscape. The central figure wears seemingly shamanic dress for it appears to be ornamented with a variety of external objects some of which take the shape of abstracted feathers, teeth and bones. Such decoration is significant for feathers and bones were both highly symbolic elements of the shamanic costume. Feathers are metaphoric of birds whose use suggests the notion of the shaman transforming himself into a bird thereby enabling him metaphorically to 'fly' between the realms.[240] The expression of birds, or the expression of the desire to achieve a 'bird-like' status, is an evident signifier of Jung's 'archetype of transcendence', a fundamental archetype for achieving the reunification of the unconscious with the conscious. While bones are used to give the illusion of a skeleton; there is some contention among scholars, as to whether this skeleton represents that of a human or bird.[241] Whichever is correct, the two

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[235] M. Winkelman, (1986). "Trance States: A Theoretical Model and Cross-Cultural Analysis". *Ethos*. No. 14: 76-105; M. Winkelman, (1992). "Shamans, Priests, and Witches: A Cross-Cultural Study of Magico-Religious Practitioners". *Anthropological Research Papers*. No. 44. Arizona.
[236] Jaffé, (1964): 262-3.
[237] C.f. *Kalevala*, (1933): 34.
[238] Eliade, (1964): 148.
[239] C.f. A. Siikala, (2002). *Mythic Images and Shamanism: A Perspective on Kalevala Poetry*. Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Helsinki: 21, Fig. 1.
[240] Eliade, (1964): 157-8; Vitebsky, (1995): 82; S. Shirokogoroff, (1935). *Psychomental Complex of the Tungus*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London: 296; M. Harner, (2003). "Discovering the Way". In *Shamanism: A Reader*, edited by G. Harvey. Psychology Press, London: 54.
[241] Harva, (1922): 14 ff. Harva believes the skeleton of the shamanic costume is representative of a bird skeleton but converts to idea of a human skeleton in: U. Holmberg, (1938). "Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker"

hypotheses essentially convey to the same key notion: by trying to replicate a skeleton, the shaman's costume affirms the significant rank of its wearer. It is of little importance whether it is meant to symbolise a human skeleton or that of an animal. Either way the significance of this metaphoric representation is concerned with the primal matter or life-substance which our mythical ancestors have preserved. For among the shamanic hunting communities bones are symbolic of the origin of life, both animal and human, the origin from which any species can be reconstituted at will. The 'soul' is believed to reside inside the bones and thus it is possible to resurrect an individual from his bones, another interesting assertion, for it suggests the expression of the 'archetype of rebirth', and the possibility that the psyche can be reconstructed to its correct alignment. The human skeleton in some way acts as an archetype of the shaman, for it is considered to signify their ancestral genealogy. The bird skeleton has a similar significance: for the first shaman was resultant from the procreation of a woman and an eagle. The shaman tries to transform himself into a bird and fly, and, in some ways he becomes a bird, in that just as a bird he can enter the upper regions. The skeleton displayed in the shaman's costume both summarises and re-actualises the dramatic nature of his initiation, his experience of death and rebirth, whilst also enabling him to access the spiritual realms.[242]

The illustration marking the beginning of Rune 18, (Fig. 26), is especially striking in its parallels to shamanic ritualistic dress.[243] The work depicts an ebony-cloaked central figure bathed in tongues of light holding a bright white disk with birds soaring beneath and above. As we have seen the ornithic connotations of the shamanic dress had an apparent metaphorical significance in symbolically implying the shaman's bird-like ability to traverse the cosmos. Ubiquitous in shamanic documentation is the presence of birds as shamanic spirit-helpers. One of the primary functions of the shaman's costume was its ability to capture the spirits in order to harness their aid in shamanic ritual. The central disk represented is manifestly emblematic of the shaman's drum similarly used to trap spirits and subsequently to facilitate entry into an ecstatic trance for the monotonic drumming evoked a hypnotic trance-like atmosphere. Indeed, the performance aspect of shamanism was fundamental. Siberian shamanic ceremonies were largely performed in front of an audience and at night in order to create a dramatic atmospheric condition for entering the 'altered-state-of-consciousness', in which fire, schematically represented here, had a

["The Religious Beliefs of the Altaic People"]. *Folklore Fellows Communications*. Vol. 125. Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, Helsinki: 154; E. Pekarsky put forward the hypothesis that it is rather a combination of human and bird skeleton in 1910 see Shirokogoroff, (1935): 294.

[242] Eliade, (1964): 158-60; Siikala (2002): 44.

[243] C.f. *Kalevala* (1933): 98.

central theatrical significance.[244] If we compare this depiction with an illustration of a masked Buriat shaman, (Fig. 27), there is a distinctive similarity in dress, especially allowing for artistic licence.[245] Such apparent symbolism perhaps anticipates Jung's process of developing the psyche through the apprehension of the unconscious' collective archetypes, expressed in images of transcendence and rebirth, and through training its ability to deal with inner motives outwardly projected in the form of spirits.

The most dramatic illustration which perhaps exemplifies the concept of shamanic ritualism can be found in the depiction assigned to Rune 35, (Fig. 28).[246] At this point in the epic, Kullervo has just discovered that he has, in a cruel twist of fate, slept with his sister, who upon finding his identity throws herself to her death in shame, whilst Kullervo himself threatens to do the same. In this highly emotional depiction a figure, his body contorted in shame, is poised dramatically over a tumultuous cliff-edge, whose height is pronounced by thick descending lines and febrile, dynamic shading. What is interesting is the potentially shamanic manner in which the scene is portrayed. For the main protagonist appears to wear shamanic dress with headband, which is perhaps feathered, evocative of the shaman's ornithic symbolism, combined with a patterned tunic and necklace. His awkward, angular movements one might suggest reflect that of a shamanic ritual, in which the hypnotic effect of the ecstatic trance seize the body in dramatic contortions.

The final element to consider is the arguably shamanic and certainly folkloric, decorative border-motifs found throughout the work. These small border-themes are believed to be composed by Alisa Poret and form a distinctive pattern of varying motifs. They are largely pictographic in nature and vary from zigzag lines to hieroglyphic drum-like patterns to more detailed pictographic depictions of animals (Fig. 29). The zigzag motif is a significant shamanic motif for it allegorically suggests flight and has similar ornithic connotations to the bird-like formation of the shaman's costume in that it is emblematic of the shaman's ability to traverse the cosmological realms. It is frequently found embellishing shamanic drum faces. For Lapp shamans the zigzag line creating a triangular formation, as frequently occurring here, was symbolic of Radien's encampment. Radien was the highest Lapp deity and thus utilisation of this motif had a pantheonic implication.[247] Of course zigzags are widely employed outside of

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[244] Siikala, (2002): 44.
[245] C.f H. Lankenau, (1872). "Die Schamanen und das Schamanenwesen" ["The Shaman and being a Shaman"] *Globus*. Germany.
[246] C.f. *Kalevala*, (1933): 208.
[247] N. Kharuzin, (1889). "O Noidakh u drevnikh i sovremennykh Loparei", ["On the Noids (Shamans) among the Ancient and Contemporary Lapps"]. *Ethnographic Review*, Vol. 1: 36-76.

shamanism too and their depiction here is perhaps evocative of the desire to express universal archetypes in the Jungian sense. The animals too are depicted in a pictographic manner reminiscent of the iconography found on shamanic drum faces, as has been mentioned, the medium of microcosmic illustrative expression. Finally, the use of such motifs as borders perhaps has shamanic significance, for frequently the drum edge was used to display similar border motifs, for the edge was considered metaphorical of the *axis mundi*. With this in mind, the border-motifs reveal the re-emergence of shamanic sensibilities in the work, for they appear to parallel shamanic iconography in their depiction and they allegorically suggest the same function as the shaman's drum allowing the whole work to become the microcosmic means by which the viewer may traverse this realm. Such a symbolic schema seems to anticipate a Jungian expression of universal archetypes which were required to facilitate the reunification of the consciousness.

The Academia's 1933 edition of the *Kalevala* acts as a supreme expression of the phenomenon of *dvoeverie*, in a work executed in a profoundly symbolic language. For the overall theme of the text is evocative of an ultimate aim of social and cultural healing, and the presentation of the text, the illustrations and the manner in which the drawings are depicted, demonstrate a profound sense of cultural unity, a cosmic equilibrium, the ultimate psychological holism, expressed in a language of symbolic archetypes through which ultimate transcendence between past and present, and between human, animal and natural realms could be achieved.

Overall it is apparent that the phenomenon of *dvoeverie* was fundamental to the expression of the Russian avant-garde's innovative artistic modernism. Its appeal came largely through its ability to conflate diverse styles in a universal language communicated through archetypal symbols which transcend the ages with their spiritual resonance. In their representation of this theme the avant-garde were perhaps anticipating the need for the expression of Jungian collective archetypes as a means of facilitating psychological holism, for their artistic execution appears to be underlined with a need to heal society, and revolves around the manifest representation of a universal spiritualism formed through symbolic images which transcend time and culture. The artists Larionov, Goncharova, Malevich and Filonov expressed this phenomenon through the conflation of pagan mysticism, folk primitivism, and the deific ontological spiritualism of the icon, the underlying artistic conventions and symbolism of which were transferred into a modern context through an expression with an apparently holistic telos. While for Kandinsky and the Filonov School, the magic of mythological lore combined with the mysticism of ritual became the means by which to champion their modern ideals. Hence we can see perhaps not always specifically shamanic symbols, but rather the re-emergence of shamanic

sensibilities in the Jungian sense through the language of these artists, not least in the allusion to ritualistic mysticism, but also in the overall telos achieved by the utilisation of *dvoeverie*, a universal harmony or cosmic equilibrium reminiscent of psychic holism. Having established a fundamentally universal artistic language with which to express their decisive modernism, the avant-garde were poised on the brink of re-defining the figure of the artist, and re-assessing what might be achieved through the power and symbolism of a modern, spiritually charged art.

CHAPTER TWO: ARTIST AS SHAMAN

"Had I not become a shaman, I would have died", thus stated a Gilyak shaman as he expressed the all-encompassing necessity endured by the neophyte prior to his fulfilment of the shamanic role.[248] It was during this period that the artists of the Russian avant-garde felt a similar yearning towards the embodiment of a shamanic type figure, one characterised by its archetypal symbolism. We begin to see not only the re-emergence of shamanic sensibilities in the iconography and ideology of their artistic *oeuvres*, but also that they began to take up a mystical prophetic role which could transcend cultures and ages. Their contemporary Matiushin declared:

> "Artists have always been knights, poets and prophets of space, in all times. Sacrificing to everyone, dying, they were opening eyes and teaching the crowd to see the great beauty of the world concealed from it."[249]

Inspired by this, the avant-garde redefined the role of the artist in modern society. They appear to exhibit the characteristics of a clairvoyant, a prophet, a pedagogical leader, a social and cultural healer and a shaman, revealing such qualities in both their art and writings. This chapter will aim to demonstrate how the avant-garde embodied an archetypal shamanic style role. Firstly, by looking at the process of mystical initiation and how certain artists underwent the psychological and didactic experiences associated with such a neurophysiological process. Subsequently, it will consider how the artists expressed their self-fulfilment of a Jungian 'shamanic' archetypal figure in their artistic writings, their painterly execution, and even in the ways in which they conducted themselves. Jung nominated the shaman as one of his 'archetypes of transcendence', for the 'primitive' seer had the ability to traverse the cosmic realms in order to heal, and thus becomes a recurring motif of the unconscious as it attempts to facilitate its own traversal to reunification with the new, rational conscious.[250] The figure of the shaman embodies the perfect psychic 'hero archetype', since he fulfils all the characteristics required of a symbolic hero's persona. He is powerful and deeply in-tune with the spirits, and he encompasses the 'transcendence archetype'. Thus he can heal his people and liberate them from the evils of malign spirits.[251] The idea that the avant-garde potentially saw their role as modern artists as similar to that of a shamanic mystical figure is perhaps then explained by their underlying need to embody collective

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[248] Gilyak shaman from South-East Siberia quoted in Ripinsky-Naxon, (1993): 66.
[249] M. Matiushin, (1913). *Troe [The Three]*, quoted in Douglas, (1994): 15-16.
[250] Henderson, (1964): 147.
[251] Jung, (1964): 68.

archetypes as a means to facilitate psychological healing based on their perception of Jung's crisis of psychic dislocation.

As we have seen, another of Jung's 'collective archetypes' is the 'archetype of initiation'. This expresses a period of transition and prepares the individual for a newfound spiritual or more socially significant role.[252] Such an initiation is undergone by the shamanic neophyte as he prepares to take up the shamanic mantle. The shamanic candidate must undergo a twofold initiation, an ecstatic one, whereby he is tempted and tormented by the spirits, in order that he might accept and understand his position, and a didactic one, which is conducted by old master shamans, who teach him the roles of the spirits, mythology and the genealogy of his clan, fully cementing the requirements of his newly acquired shamanic responsibilities.[253] The ecstatic initiation process involves firstly, the occurrence of suffering, the so-called 'shamanic illness', an episode of physical sickness or mental insanity which is the result of a divine being appointing the chosen individual for the role of a shaman. For the neophyte candidate this disease acted as an acknowledgement of his shamanic position and facilitated him to both heal himself and to heal others.[254] It is interesting that the shamanic initiatory experience revolves around healing, for this is emblematic of Jung's collective archetypes, all of which were produced by the unconscious to facilitate the healing of the psyche through the reunification of its unconscious and conscious elements. The fact that the artists undergo or represent this type of initiation is evocative of their anticipation of the necessity for societal healing achieved through the representation of universal archetypes. The 'shamanic illness' is followed by the initiatory ceremony which required that the candidate experience ecstatic hallucinations, in which the neophyte was said to witness his own dismemberment. Often the eyes of the neophyte would be removed and strategically placed so that the initiate might fully observe the destruction of his body. His body may have all its flesh stripped and the skeleton cleaned, while his innards would be consumed by miscellaneous mythological creatures. Following this, the body of the initiate would be reconstructed or reborn.[255] Finally, the neophyte embarks upon the ecstatic soul-journey, where he meets his 'spirit-helpers', often animals of the opposite gender, who will probably become his lifelong assistants, one of them may even 'marry' the shaman as his spiritual spouse.[256] If, at any point during this process, the individual refused to undertake the shamanic

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[252] Henderson, (1964): 120.
[253] Eliade, (1964): 13-14; for examples and further details of this c.f. Winkelman, (2000): 77, 82; Ripinsky-Naxon, (1993): 85-6; Vitebsky, (1995): 34, 46, 52, 59.
[254] Vitebsky, (1995): 57.
[255] Winkelman, (2000): 77, 82; Eliade, (1964): 34, 35, 38.
[256] Ripinsky-Naxon, (1993): 85-6; Vitebsky, (1995): 34, 46, 52, 59, 61.

life then he would be tormented, assailed and pursued by spirits and personal demons.[257] The result of the initiate's decision to become a shaman, to pick up his drum and 'shamanise', became his own self-curing. By becoming a social and cultural healer he would overcome his own illness.[258] This initiation experience is essential in the ability of the individual to become a shaman for it transforms the profane individual into an artisan of the sacred and justifies the vocation and magico-religious power of the shaman.[259]

Interestingly, such an initiatory experience parallels almost exactly Jung's 'archetype of initiation', for according to Jung it is expressed through an initiatory ritual which should bring the individual back to his 'ego-Self identity', an identity which is usually based in the 'mother-child identity', and requires that the individual experiences a symbolic death and rebirth. Indeed, Jung frequently chose shamanism as a metaphorical example to illustrate his primary points in psychological theory, for he found that the shamanic ideologies and experiences contained archetypal properties which were apparent across cultures, but he acknowledges that the beauty of these sensations is that they are experienced by many peoples.[260] Psychologically, what has occurred in the initiation is a temporary division of the indivdiual's identity, which has become dissolved into his collective unconscious. Subsequently, he is ceremonially reborn, which is symbolic for the alliance of his ego with the larger social group, and prepares him for the next stage of his life.[261] The final stage of the shaman's ecstatic initiation, namely the soul-journey and the assignment of tutelary spirits, is also part of Jung's psychological process. The soul-journey is an example of the unconscious' 'archetype of transcendence', and the tutelary figures, who aid the shaman in performing seemingly superhuman tasks in the other realms, are signifiers of the whole psyche, the large comprehensive identity of the Self which provides the necessary strength that the individual ego lacks. The tutelary spirits' role implies that the function of the shamanic

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[257] Cf. Eliade, (1964): 33-66. Accounts of the characteristic 'illness' suffered by shaman initiate may vary, but the most common traits included: a nervous disposition and restlessness, a desire for solitude, a meditative cast, absentmindedness, headaches, dizziness, ecstatic seizures, hallucinations and sometimes a tendency to hysteria. Many of these characteristics were identified by ethnographers with whose work the avant-garde would have been familiar, such as Scheffer, Radloff, Potanin, Gondatti, Mikhailovski, Kharuzin, and Bogoras. Bogoras' important article on the psychology of shamanism appeared in *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie [Ethnographic Review]* in 1910, the same year Kandinsky spent several weeks renewing his contacts with his ethnographic colleagues. (W. Bogoras, (1910). "K psikhologii shamanstva u narodov severo-vostoschnoi Azii" [On the Psychology of Shamanism among the Peoples of North-eastern Asia]. *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie [Ethnographic Review]*. No. 1-2. Vol. 84-5: 1-36). Mikhailovski had also dealt with the shamanic illness see Mikhailovski, (1895): 85, 87, 90, 147. According to Scheffer, the shaman may have been subjected to the disease since childhood, see J. Scheffer, (1674). *The History of Lapland.* Translated by G. West. At the Theater, Oxford.

[258] Cf. A. Hultkrantz, (1978). "Ecological and Phenomenological Aspects of Shamanism". In *Shamanism in Siberia*, edited by V, Diószegi & M. Hoppál. Akad.Kiado, Budapest: 27-58. On dismemberment see Eliade, (1964): 27.

[259] M. Eliade, (1960). *Myths, Dreams and Mysteries: The Encounter between Contemporary Faiths and Archaic Realities*. Harper & Row, London: 79ff; Eliade, (1964): 35-6.

[260] Henderson, (1964): 120

[261] Ibid: 120, 123, 147-50.

quest is the development of the individual's consciousness, the attempt to re-establish the connection between the ego-conscious and the subconscious, which will equip him for life's challenges.[262] For the shaman, as with most psychic hero archetypes, the aim is to understand and reunify his own consciousness, and, in his philanthropic social role, to help to establish a collective psychic identity for society, one which is governed by a unified consciousness. The fact that the Russian avant-garde seem to experience initiatory events which have some parallels to this, and reference them in their art implies their awareness of the need to facilitate psychological healing.

The artists of the Russian avant-garde appeared to display many qualities accredited to Jung's archetypal shamanic figure and several of them, including Kandinsky and Malevich, seem to have experienced a form of 'initiation' as they defined their position in artistic modernism. Perhaps the strongest parallels between the psychological suffering of the artist and the ecstatic initiation can be seen in the writings of Kandinsky. In his memoir *Rückblicke* (1913) Kandinsky records that from a young child onwards he experienced periods of great unease, often typified by 'inner shuddering', nightmares and even depression which could only be relieved by drawing.[263] He states:

> "Even as a child, I had been tortured by joyous hours of inward tension that promised embodiment. Such hours filled me with inward tremors, indistinct longings that demanded something incomprehensible of me, stifling my heart by day and filling my soul with turmoil by night, giving me fantastic dreams full of terror and joy...I can remember that drawing alleviated this condition, i.e., it allowed me to exist outside of time and space, so that I was no longer conscious of myself."[264]

This experience is reminiscent of the shamanic initiation and is suggestive of the initiate's feeling when he succumbed to his rightful shamanic role. There are parallels between Kandinsky's account and that of Telpina, a Chuckchee shaman, whose words were recorded by the contemporary ethnographer Jochelson: "…people about to become shamans have fits and wild paroxysms alternating with a condition of complete exhaustion".[265] It is often described that only through shamanising could the initiate relieve his inner torture.[266] Such a conception is evocative of the sensation Jung describes for one who has comprehended his psychic dislocation. His psyche is in constant torment as it tries to realign the shift in its consciousness, such torment is

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[262] Ibid: 101.
[263] Weiss, (1995): 76.
[264] Kandinsky, (1913a): 364-5.
[265] W. Jochelson, (1975). *The Koryak*. AMS Press, New York: 47. Originally published in E. J. Brill, Leiden, and G. E. Stechert, (eds.,) *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. X. (1908).
[266] C.f. Czaplicka, (1914): 172; W. Bogoras, (1904). "The Chukchee". In *The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*. (1904-1909), edited by F. Boas. Vol. VII. American Museum of Natural History, New York.

often expressed through the frequent reoccurrence of 'collective archetypes', as the unconscious tries to reassert itself into the conscious and reunify itself with it, a sensation which has parallels with the experience of 'shamanising'. An essential part of the shamanic condition was entering into shamanic trance, which is paralleled in Kandinsky's feeling of existing "outside of time and space" and no longer being conscious of himself. This condition is further exacerbated during his student days, just prior to his acceptance of his role as a 'shamanic' artist, where he states: "At the same time, my soul was kept in a state of constant vibration...to the extent that I never had an hour's peace." This is reminiscent of the constant assailment by spirits demanding that the shamanic initiate accept his role. It is interesting that these experiences occurred when Kandinsky was a child and young adult. Czaplicka, in her study of shamanism in Siberia, noted that the shamanic initiation experience occurred most frequently in children or adolescents as it is a transitional period in a person's life and represented the period before he reached 'maturity'.[267]

That Kandinsky displayed symptoms which could be typical of a shamanic illness can be found in his *Rückblicke*, repeatedly in his travel diary and in several of his letters to Münter. The shamanic illness, Jung would argue, was the way a sensitive soul might express the turmoil of his inner psyche. By outwardly projecting the dislocation, the individual was making the disturbance known to his conscious, allowing himself to deal with his inner ruptures. Kandinsky frequently complains of dizziness, headaches, self-doubt, depressions, and fits of forgetfulness. He was tormented by nightmares and occasionally he was driven to hysteria and despair.[268] Eichner describes his temperament as neurasthenic: "Behind his self-control and good upbringing grew a heavy nervosity. Outsiders knew nothing of the fact that, alone in his room he could cry out from inner excitement." Eichner also records Kandinsky's feelings of artistic 'ecstasy' which can be comparable to the shamanic experience of 'pyschopathisch'.[269] Such 'ecstasy' can be seen in a letter to Münter in 1904, in which Kandinsky writes that it was only through his activity as an artist that he was able to alleviate himself, only in the creative state did he have the feeling that "music rings in my whole body and God is in my heart."[270] Eichner discusses the extent of Kandinsky's 'soul-suffering' during 1906 where the artist felt the climax of his guilt concerning his affair with Münter. At the end of that year Kandinsky sought recovery in a Kurort, or spa, in

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[267] Czaplicka, (1914): 173.
[268] Weiss, (1995): 74.
[269] Ibid: 76.
[270] J. Eichner, (1975). *Kandinsky und Gabriele Münter: Von Ursprüngen modernen Kunst [Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter: From the Origins of Modern Art]*. Bruckmann, Munich: 57, 60-1, 63, citing a letter by W. Kandinsky to G. Münter dated 10th August 1904.

Switzerland.[271] In 1907, months later, the artist would begin to imbue his paintings with the lyrical qualities of the 'alleviating' woodcuts, and thus his innovative style would emerge in conjunction with his role as leader. Kandinsky, it would seem, had taken up the mantle to shamanise.[272] He appears to have assigned to his art the capacity to psychologically heal and through his prolific work he sets about reversing psychic dislocation.

Shamanistic accounts state that the shamanic illness may exhibit itself as a medicinal illness which without treatment can be fatal.[273] Kandinsky's description concerning *Composition II* (1910), (Fig. 30) then, appears striking.[274] He states:

> "Once, in the throes of typhoid fever, I saw with great clarity an entire picture, which, however, somehow dissipated itself within me when I recovered...after many years, I succeeded in expressing in *Composition II* the very essence of that delirious vision."[275]

Kandinsky would later recall that several paintings had been inspired by this vision: *Arrival of the Merchants* (1905), then *Motley Life* (1907) (Fig. 15), and finally *Composition II* (1910) (Fig. 30). This is significant for it suggests that his entire artistic evolution can be considered as a form of initiation. For the first two works are reflective of his early, fragmented, mosaic style as he struggled with personal demons and the insecurity of his artistic vision, while the final work demonstrates his break-through to abstraction, the style with which he felt he could truly express his purpose. This stylistic development corresponded with his psychological development. For, the works of 1907 were the products of years of instability, while *Composition II* was completed during a more stable period. In initiatory terms, Kandinsky endured an episode of struggle and torment which could only be relieved through a radical break both with convention and his own past.[276] It is interesting that in the same account that Kandinsky speaks about the evolution of *Composition II* he also states "The artist is perhaps in a position –albeit only partially and by chance –to summon up within himself these states of inspiration by artificial means."[277] This enhances the notion that like the initiate, the artist after passing through an 'initiation' could enact his own self-curing.

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[271] Eichner, (1975): 42, 168, citing letters from W. Kandinsky to G. Münter dated 13th February 1907, 19th March 1907 and 8th December 1910. According to Münter, Kandinsky was so psychically sensitive that even sitting at a crowded table could be torture.
[272] Weiss, (1995): 12, 76.
[273] Czaplicka, (1914): 174-5; Ripinsky-Naxon, (1993): 66; Vitebsky, (1995): 57.
[274] Weiss, (1995): 74; J. Bowlt, (1980). "Vasilii Kandinsky: The Russian Connection". In *The Life of Vasilii Kandinsky in Russian Art: A Study of On the Spiritual in Art,* edited by J. Bowlt, & R. Washton-Long. Oriental Research Partners, Texas: 8.
[275] W. Kandinsky, (1918). "Stupendi" [Russian edition of *Rückblicke*]. In *Kandinsky: Complete Writings on Art.* (1982), edited by K. Lindsay & P. Vergo. G. K. Hall, Boston: 890.
[276] Weiss, (1995): 9,74.
[277] Kandinsky, (1918): 892, n. 57.

Kandinsky's 'breakthrough' to abstraction did not end his struggle; his sense of torment still finds expression in his art of 1913.[278] Kandinsky's struggle could be paralleled with the concept of shamanic struggle, which is ubiquitous to the accounts of the shaman's soul journey, a fundamental part of the shaman's duty to obtain cosmic equilibrium. Concerning *Composition VI* (1913) he wrote:

> "I carried this picture around in my mind for a year and a half, and often thought I would not be able to finish it...I lost myself amidst corporeal forms, which I had painted merely in order to heighten and clarify my image of the picture. I gained in confusion rather than in clarity. "[279]

Kandinsky painted *Composition VI* (1913) nearly sixteen months after he had finished *Composition V* (1911), (Fig. 31).[280] Whereas his first five compositions were completed in a relatively short time-span of twenty-three months, from January 1910 to November 1911, Kandinsky discusses the greater length of time between Compositions V and VI in an essay, where he explains the struggle he endured between his initial concept and the work's progression:

> "In a number of sketches I dissolved the corporeal forms; in others I sought to achieve the impression by purely abstract means. But it didn't work...Weeks passed and I tried again, but still without success."[281]

Resolving this problem as regards *Composition VI*, he writes with deeply mystical language: "Finally, the day came, and a well-known, tranquil, inner tension made me fully certain...The great battle, the conquest of the canvas, was accomplished".[282] Perhaps we can see in Kandinsky's evolution of this painting an analogy to the shaman's soul journey, first the disruption in the cosmic equilibrium leading to the soul journey, which is often characterised by long stretches of searching and a sense of feeling lost before finally reaching a solution which will restore the harmonic balance.

This same shamanic sense of struggle can be found in his text for the work *Picture with the White Edge*, (1913), (Fig. 32). His first sketch for the work was executed in December 1912, and

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[278] V. Barnett, (2009). "The Artist Reinvents Himself: Changes, Crises, Turning Points". In *Kandinsky,* edited by V. Barnett. Guggenheim Museum Publications, New York: 63; V. Turchin, (2008). *Kandinsky: Theories and Experiments from Various Years, Across the Spectrum. The Artist in Germany and Russia*. State Institute of Art History, Moscow: 40; Hoberg, (2009): 31.
[279] W. Kandinsky, (1913b). "Composition VI". In *Kandinsky: Complete Writings on Art.* (1982), edited by K. Lindsay & P. Vergo. G. K. Hall, Boston: 385.
[280] *Composition V* was completed November 17 1911; *Composition VI* on March 5 1913 cf. Dabrowski, (1995): 37
[281] Kandinsky, (1913b): 385.
[282] Ibid: 386.

he subsequently produced numerous studies as he struggled with his artistic sensibility and expression.[283] He states:

> "I made slow progress with the white edge. My sketches did little to help, that is, the individual forms became clear within me –and yet, I could still not bring myself to paint the picture. It tormented me. After several weeks, I would bring out the sketches again, and still I felt unprepared."[284]

Again we can see the shamanic conception of battle as the artist struggles to reach harmony. Kandinsky later reaches the solution stating:

> "...it was not until after nearly five months that I was sitting looking in the twilight at the second large-scale study, when it suddenly dawned on me what was missing –the white edge...I treated this white edge itself in the same capricious way it had treated me... Since this white edge proved the solution to the picture, I named the whole picture after it."[285]

Here we can sense Kandinsky's maturity as a shamanic artist whilst his struggle with *Composition II* (Fig. 30) took 'many years' to complete, now Kandinsky is able to find the solution within months.

It could be argued that Kandinsky's growth as an artist in this period parallels that of a shamanic initiate. He first experiences a 'shamanic illness' both in the form of a physical illness, the typhoid fever which led to *Composition II* (Fig. 30), and in the form of mental and emotional torment through nightmares, depression, periods of anxiety etc. which could only be relieved through his shamanic trance, i.e. drawing. As he develops as an artist Kandinsky begins to shamanise generating the breakthrough to abstraction as the artist takes on his shamanic role. Finally we see the evidence of Kandinsky's 'soul journeys' as he struggles with his moral duty as a shaman. It could be argued that in these experiences Kandinsky was struggling with his own psychic disassociation, a solution for which only came in his outward projection of his unconscious motives onto his art work in the form of abstraction. Indeed, Jung would subsequently argue that abstraction represented the manifestation of the artist's unconscious.[286] The fact that Kandinsky appeared to mimick the behaviour of the shamanic initiate is perhaps evocative of the fact that such an experience seemed to best exemplify Jung's needs.

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[283] Barnett, (2009): 64.
[284] W. Kandinsky, (1913c). "Picture with the White Edge". In *Kandinsky: Complete Writings on Art.* (1982), edited by K. Lindsay & P. Vergo. G. K. Hall, Boston: 391.
[285] Kandinsky, (1913c): 391.
[286] Jaffé, (1964): 311.

The psychological torment and fear associated with the ecstatic initiatory experience can also be found in the words of Malevich, particularly as he established his Suprematist vision. He states that he felt:

> "…a kind of timidity bordering on fear when I was called upon to leave 'the world of will and idea' in which I had lived and worked and in the reality of which I had believed. But the blissful feeling of liberating non-objectivity drew me into the 'desert' where nothing is real but feeling and feeling became the content of my life."[287]

Such an account parallels those documented by shamanic initiates, which as we have already seen, frequently reference the initial feeling of profound fear at the prospect of leaving one's 'comfort zone' and adopting such a powerful role, this fear is subsequently overcome by the idyllic sensation of manifest liberty as the individual accepts his newfound role. In this account of a contemporary Sakha (Yakut) shamanic initiate we get a sense of this: "…nine years I struggled with myself, and I did not tell anyone what was happening to me, as I was very afraid…but when I started to shamanize I grew better".[288] Of course it is important to acknowledge that fear at leaving one's 'comfort zone' is not peculiar to the shamanic neophyte's experience but is an archetypal initiatory experience. Moreover, the imprecision and sometimes sheer complication of Malevich's artistic writings during this period is reminiscent of the accounts of initiates, suggesting the ecstatic nature of his new position.[289]

Malevich references the sense of struggle, a paradigm of the shamanic condition, and the ultimate victorious freedom that prevails as he adopts his newfound shamanic role. In 1916 he declared:

> "I have transformed myself into the *zero of form* and dragged myself out of the *rubbish-filled pool of Academic art*. I have destroyed the ring of the horizon and escaped from the circle of things, from the horizon-ring which confines the artist and forms of nature… An artist is given talent in order that he may give to life his share of creation and increase the flow of life."[290]

By 'destroying' the 'ring of the horizon' Malevich appears to suggest a spiritual flight which breaks the boundaries of conventional reality and enters higher dimensions. He assigns this 'journey' to the artist for it is through his talent that such realms necessarily must be traversed

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[287] Hilbersheimer, (1960-1961): 83.
[288] Czaplicka, (1914): 173; Malevich was likely to have come into contact with this text as it was referenced by several members of the Union of Youth, of which he was a member, and it was among the collections of his avant-garde contemporaries, figures such as Larionov and Khlebnikov. Other texts in the libraries of the avant-garde circle include the vast six-volume tome on Russian antiquities by Kondakov: N. Kondakov & Count I. I. Tolstoy, (1889-1899); along with Siberian shamanic expedition records published by the Imperial Society of the Friends of Natural Science, Anthropology and Ethnography.
[289] Lipsey, (1988): 146.
[290] Malevich, (1916a): 19.

and revealed. Such an expression anticipates Jung's 'archetype of transcendence'. The sense of flight, he explains, is a signifier of the unconscious accessing the conscious and reasserting the 'primitive' spiritual values it has lost. The fact that Malevich references this spiritual journey and reaches abstraction as a result, which Jung argued represented the manifestation of the unconscious, suggests that Malevich perceived the psychic dislocation, and attempted to use his artistic vocabulary as a means to facilitate psychological healing. Thus it would appear that Malevich undergoes a form of initiatory torment as he establishes the fundamental aesthetic with which he will underline his purpose and expression of artistic modernism.

For Filonov, we see the artist adopting the physical initiatory experiences as part of his philosophy of living. The great emphasis that he placed on the importance of persistent work as the means by which the teleology of his art could be achieved consumed him. He adopted a rigorous self-discipline that facilitated him to focus on his work for vast proportions of the day (up to sixteen hours or even more), to largely ignore his basic bodily needs such as eating and sleeping, and to drive his self-endurance to the absolute limit.[291] The all-consuming manner in which he worked has certain shamanic parallels, for the initiate, whilst succumbing to his rightful role, frequently was overcome by his work, experiencing periods of intense loneliness, isolation and withdrawal from society, something which frequently caused the degradation of the shaman as a victim of psychological neurosis.[292] Jochelson notes of the initiates that:

> "They will lie motionless for two or three days without partaking of food or drink. Finally they retire to the wilderness, where they spend their time enduring hunger and cold in order to prepare themselves for their calling."[293]

Of course these experiences can be paralleled with any hard-discipline commitment, religious or otherwise, but they reveal the importance which Filonov assigned to his work. Indeed, the degree of isolation and subsequent alienation in which Filonov worked, is practically without

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[291] Misler, (1983a): 27.

[292] Winkelman, (2000): 79; Vitebsky, (1995): 138-9; for direct comparisons between shamans and schizophrenics see R. Noll, (1983). "Shamanism and Schizophrenia: A State-Specific Approach to the Schizophrenia Metaphor of Shamanic States". *American Ethnologist*. Vol. 10: 443-59; J. Silverman, (1978). "Shamans and Acute Schizophrenia". *American Anthropologist*. Vol. 69: 21-31. It is interesting that shamans are sometimes referred to as the victims of psychological neuroses, as Jung would argue that this is exactly how the modern man would deal with the visions of the primitives. Having lost the noumenal capacity of his conscious, modern man pejoratively calls unconscious visions 'neuroses', whereas in reality, the primitive is actively projecting his unnerving inner motives onto outward objects in order to deal with them, an ability which modern man has lost, and thus he is in danger of becoming a victim to these inner motives now well beyond his control. The artists' mimicking of shamanic behaviour then perhaps represents their perception of the necessity to heal the psyche in order to avoid the dangers of psychological disturbances.

[293] Jochelson, (1975): 47.

precedent in the history of art.[294] His sister describes the extent of his ascetic lifestyle: "He lived in a small, dark and squalid peasant's hut, with a tiny window. It was autumn-damp and cold…How could he work?"[295]

Filonov's philosophy of life was based on an overriding work ethic with a staunch refusal to indulge in the superfluous.[296] He believed that this approach would enable him to hone his intuition and transcend this earthly existence in the form of heightened intellectual perception, an inner freedom which he could express on canvas, and would enable himself and his viewers to partake in his spiritual quest. The importance Filonov placed on intuition is mirrored by Jung, who argues that intuition is one of the four fundamental facets of the consciousness. It is perhaps the most essential of these facets, as it represents our ability to apprehend and assimilate the contents of the unconscious.[297] Filonov's use of it to facilitate a spiritual quest is a further indication of his desire to facilitate psychological healing through his art. Filonov lived almost 'outside' life. He existed on a higher level of sensibility and experience than other people.[298] His wife describes him: "He is possessed by a 'spirit'. Pavel Nikolaevich is not from this world."[299] Further stating that entering his room had the equivalent experience of being in "a temple in which he was in contact with eternity".[300] Hence Filonov takes up a Jungian 'shamanic' mantle, transcending the earthly realm in order to achieve a heightened state of consciousness with an ultimate utilitarian goal.

Filonov appears to reference an essential part of any ecstatic initiation in his art work; the experience of death, dismemberment, and rebirth.[301] As we have seen the representation of a symbolic death and rebirth was a significant expression of Jung's 'archetype of initiation', so its reference here has psychic capabilities. Such an experience has a significant parallel with Filonov's understanding of the universe and his representation of himself and his role as an artist. If we consider the work *Rebirth of an Intellectual* (1914-15), (Fig. 33) we can see his illustration of the continuous cycle of death, resurrection or rebirth, indeed re-generation, passing from the putrefaction of the physical body to its biological cellular disintegration seen

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294 M. Petrov, (2006). "Pavel Filonov: An Outisder with the Psychology of a Winner". In *Pavel Filonov: Seer of the Invisible*, edited by Y. Petrova. Palace Editions, St Petersburg: 75.
295 E. Glebova, (1986). "Vospominaniia o brate" ["Memories of his Brother"]. *Neva* 10: 151.
296 Y. Petrova, (2006b). "Pavel Filonov: Through the eyes of his wife". In *Pavel Filonov: Seer of the Invisible*, edited by Y. Petrova. Palace Editions, St Petersburg: 83.
297 Jaffé, (1964): 226-7; Jung, (1964): 5, 25.
298 Bowlt, (1983): 1.
299 Fund 156, No. 34, (1922), Sheet 53; c.f. Petrova, (2006): 85.
300 Fund 156, No. 34, (1921), Sheet 4; c.f. Petrova, (2006): 87.
301 C.f. Winkelman, (2000): 77, 82; Eliade, (1964): 34, 35, 38; Ripinsky-Naxon, (1993): 85-6; Vitebsky, (1995): 34, 46, 52, 59, 61; I. Lewis, (2003). "Possession and Public Morality: II Other Cosmological Systems". In *Shamanism: A Reader*, edited by G. Harvey. Psychology Press, London: 71.

most fully in the morphing striated umber forms of the figure to the centre-left. Its subsequent re-generation as a fossilised entity is seen as eternal images organically growing from him in both his own delineated form and the landscape itself captured in the crystalline edifice of matter.[302] Here Filonov uses the body as an instrument of communication by dismantling it and thus portraying an anthropomorphic figure compiled from an unprecedented combination of forms through which he profoundly expresses the essence of the world-organism, in which everything is connected through metamorphic processes which are unified in its internal morphology.[303] He creates an atmospheric pulsing evolutionary force which underlies the largely fragile, fractured surface and thus the painting itself is a metaphorical living organic universe. Such an image of decomposition occurs at the formation of Filonov's ideas concerning analytical art and 'madeness', in which the artist attempts to deconstruct the periphery elements of an object, i.e. their colour and form, and to look beyond them to the morphological processes of matter. It is as though he is endeavouring to liberate himself from his own metaphorical death and sublimate his initiatory experience within the practice of painting. Such an assumption can be claimed on the basis that any attempt to decipher Filonov's work is shrouded by a sinister restlessness and the frustration of trying to decrypt a world which is ultimately profoundly subjective.[304] This interpretation may further imply Filonov's awareness of the need for ultimate psychological reunification, achieved through the constant assertion of 'collective unconscious archetypes' onto the conscious.

Part of the cyclic experience of initiation is often the removal of the candidate's eyes so they can perceive the event. This has a further significance in the art of Filonov given the importance he placed on the development of the 'knowing eye' through which the artist could achieve the height of perceptive potential. The title 'Rebirth of an Intellectual' is emblematic of Filonov's psychological aims. For, according to Jung, the experience of initiatory rebirth is fundamental in developing man's intuition and thus his intellect. Moreover, for some mystics, including shamans, although they can improve their craft by becoming apprentices, they must initially acquire these abilities through intuition, which is heightened during their initiatory experiences.[305] Filonov, who placed great importance on the development of his intuition, here becomes an allegorical initiatory candidate undergoing his own hallucinatory ecstatic initiation, a

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[302] N. Misler, (1999). "Pavel Filonov and the Organic Esthetic". In *The School of Organic Art and Elena Guro*, edited by N. Bashmakova. Vol. XVI. No. 1. Studia Slavica Finlandensia, Helsinki: 37-49; Misler, (2006): 33-47.
[303] O. Buzina, (2006). "Pavel Filonov: East and West". In *Pavel Filonov: Seer of the Invisible*, edited by Y. Petrova. Palace Editions, St Petersburg: 50.
[304] N. Misler, (2006): 40 but in the context of Christian resurrection.
[305] Ripinsky-Naxon, (1993): 66; Vitebsky, (1995): 59.

paradigm which he extends to mankind as a whole in his subsequent renaming of the work as *Rebirth of a Man* (1914-15) (Fig. 33). Misler argues that Filonov's expression of death and rebirth is inspired by the Christian model, the ideals of which underlay the Communist utopia, for Filonov was a profoundly polemical figure and was brought up in the Orthodox tradition.[306] It seems likely that Filonov would have been aware of the symbolic importance of these experiences and thus he uses them to evoke an archetypal ideology in his work creating a development of intuition for a heightened state of perception. He wants to tap into what Jung would later identify as the necessity to facilitate the reunification of the consciousness, and it could be Filonov's perception of man's psychic dislocation which motivated his choice of such universal spiritualism.

Filonov further assigns himself a prophetic role in his self-portraits.[307] The self-portrait *A Hero and his Fate,* (1909-10) (Fig. 34), is another example of the death and rebirth cycle underlined by the messianic role the artist must take. The appearance of the word 'Hero' in the painting's title suggests Filonov's attempt to embody both the Jungian 'hero archetype' and the 'archetype of initiation', as an artist who facilitated psychological healing. The work portrays a decomposed face, onto which he superimposes a 'Boschian' profile, a figure 'tormented and doleful'–as if foreseeing his life in its entirety.[308] Buzina parallels such a compositional expression to traditional icon-depictions of the infant Jesus portrayed in a round medallion symbolic of the earthly realm and simultaneously the eye of God implying the concept of the 'hero and his fate'. In order to inaugurate innovative ideals Jesus must offer the greatest sacrifice, his life in the old world.[309] But it could be argued that this figure is more archetypal. Such an expression may also perhaps parallel the experience of the shaman who submits to his heroic fate in the undertaking of the initiatory experience. An experience also frequently depicted in a 'round medallion' that of the shamanic drum, the instrument by which the shaman can accesses the other cosmological realms and thus accomplishes his messianic fate of achieving therapeutic cosmic equilibrium. Such a microcosmic experience is extended to the macrocosmic dynamic, the cyclic processes of death and rebirth, beginning and ending, and the whole organic process are merged and conquered by the inhuman strive of such heroic figures. A battle is depicted in the lower part of the canvas evocative of the struggle the hero and thus the artist must undergo to achieve his goals. This concept of struggle could perhaps be reminiscent of the shamanic experience of struggle and torment, first with the acceptance of his role, during which time he is pursued by the spirits, and

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306 Misler, (2006): 34.
307 Ibid: 41; N, Misler, (2005). "Death and the Maiden". *Experiment* 11. Los Angeles.
308 Glebova, (1986): 151.
309 Buzina, (2006): 49.

second in the soul-journey itself where he is frequently required to battle evil-spirits and even, among the Buriats, 'black shamans'. The fact that the work can have two spiritual interpretations is evocative of its ability to express 'collective archetypes', and thus imbue the conscious with a sense of the unconscious.

Filonov audaciously assigns himself the heroic role, accepting the dilemma of the world as situated between evident reality and his own ideals, undertaking his fate to give up his life for the manifestation of these ideals through his own artistic expression. It is this which constitutes the path of his extensive *oeuvre*. The artist acts like an archetypal mystic whose task it is to express ineffable concepts distinctly, and in doing so creates a visual language through which the divine organics can grow. For Filonov the most important aspect of art was the development of the intellect. The more he studied the underlying morphological processes of the object of his art, the more he understood the vast scale of the universe and hence was able to transcend the human realm. Filonov positions himself in the role of mediator, for it appears that he considers the archetypal mystic to be the model upon which to best express unconscious archetypes, consequently constantly developing the consciousness and facilitating psychological healing. He himself becomes an idol, creating an ideal form for the spiritual content, which translates and diffuses itself via the pores of the canvas through the membrane of sight, working to enhance our intellectual perception.[310] The painting illustrates the brutality of the fate of the Jungian artist, in which he must find the strength for regeneration so as to undertake his messianic role and create an ultimately utilitarian, psychologically empowering art.

Having undergone the psychological torment of the ecstatic initiation, the shamanic initiate frequently became the apprentice of a master shaman, to improve his 'shamanising' skills and to partake in a form of didactic initiation. This revolved around the development of the intuition, which is heightened during the neophyte's ecstatic initiatory experiences, and was concerned with cementing the ideals and practising the rituals rather than a process of learning a defined set of doctrines.[311] The didactic initiation was conducted by 'old sage' shamans who would teach the initiates the roles of the spirits, the mythology behind shamanic rituals, and the specific genealogy of his clan, in order that they might be prepared to take up the mantle and shamanise.[312] It is important to note that the pedagogy by 'masters' of their craft and the development of intuition through practise is not peculiarly shamanic, but rather is almost universal, hence Jung's choice of a shamanic ideology as an example metaphor for his 'archetype

[310] Ibid: 50.
[311] Ripinsky-Naxon, (1993): 66; Vitebsky, (1995): 59.
[312] Eliade, (1964): 13-14.

of initiation' and its experiences. Several artists of the Russian avant-garde, including Malevich and Filonov, having undergone the neurotic experiences of ecstatic initiation, appear to enact Jung's dual initiation model, and take on the role of a mystical pedagogic leader so that they might spread the ideology of their newfound archetypal modernism. It could be argued that the motivation for mimicking a 'Jungian' didactic initiatory experience came from its focus on the intuition, a facet of the consciousness, which must be developed to facilitate widespread psychic healing.

Malevich's teaching career began in 1919 when he moved to Vitebsk and began to teach at the art school there. The school created an opportunity for the artist to embark upon a pedagogic educational project to inspire and teach students the important premises of his Suprematist vision. A motivated individual, Malevich quickly gained a devoted following of students and began to convert the school's curriculum to conform to his didactic ideals. Under Malevich's leadership his enthusiastic students named themselves, UNOVIS, (Advocates of the New Art). Their primary aim was the transformation of the world through the ideology of Suprematism, an ultimately philanthropic telos, cultural salvation through doctrinal ideals. Malevich's moral mission was to educate and guide his pupils to the Suprematist ways, just as the 'sage shaman' might guide his initiates. He adopted an almost medical metaphor, believing he could 'treat' his students both directly and indirectly.[313] His methods appear to correspond with the pedagogy utilised by many mystical teachers, for he believed through 'isolation of the individual', and through penetrating 'inquiries', he could liberate his student's latent talents.[314] The *opus operandi* of UNOVIS was one of holism, the creation of revolutionary art work formed by a collective creativity, one ruled by a lack of hierarchy and anonymity for the sake of the greater holistic good.[315] Later, under the conditions of intense privation, the school began to fall into extreme poverty, its students lacking the daily necessities of food and clothing. Malevich and his pupils were becoming victims of the tightening political regime. Suprematism, with its focus on the non-representational and suggestions of attaining nonmaterial realms was considered too unorthodox. Consequently, Malevich became the target of local officials and his desperate petitions for aid to professional and educational organisations were ignored. In 1922 Malevich and his students moved to Petrograd. In 1923 he was appointed the director of the

313 T. Andersen, ed., (1970a). *Malevich*. Stedelijk Museum Publications, Amsterdam: 32; Douglas, (1994): 29-31.
314 Andersen, (1970a): 32; Douglas, (1994): 29-31.
315 I. Candela, (2014). "Suprematism in the Street: Malevich in Vitebsk". In *Malevich*, edited by A. Borchardt-Hume. Tate Publications, London: 153.

Museum of Artistic Culture which he subsequently transformed, through the addition of research laboratories, to the Petrograd State Institute of Artistic Culture (Ginkhuk).[316]

Malevich expressed the Jungian 'shamanic' role of the artist through his teaching. He bestowed upon painting a philosophical element arguing that the art-work is no longer a two-dimensional representational canvas, but instead signifies a series of events which can be defined by the artist's psychic behaviour. The painting thus became a conceptual realm determined by what Malevich called 'the forming element'.[317] The 'forming element' is a condition to be achieved by the artist once he has mastered the vast edifice of changing sensory perceptions channelling them into a uniform vision. Such sense impressions will attempt to overwhelm him, but they will yield through his persistence and mastery.[318] This apparent psychic function of art mirrors almost exactly Jung's process of educating the consciousness, for it teaches the artist to apprehend and assimilate the overwhelming array of sensory perceptions which assault his consciousness, and in its representation of 'another realm', it equates to an attempt at manifesting the unconscious in an outward projection.[319] Malevich advocated cultural renovation through his art, as can be seen by his transformation of the provincial Vitebsk town into a spectacle of colour in December 1919, (Fig. 35).[320] As Eisenstein states; "This is Vitebsk 1920. Kasimir Malevich's brush has passed over its walls. 'The squares of the town are our palette' is the message that these walls convey".[321] Thus Malevich fulfils his dual initiation. He endures the ecstatic process basking in its subsequent cultural liberation, and enables his vision to be realised through his assertion of his didactic ideals and their subsequent fruition. Arguably Malevich chooses to fulfil the Jungian archetypal role as it best expresses the psychological healing capacity which he requires from his art, and which he attempts to facilitate in his students. But he does not wish to be alone in the height of his vision; instead he proclaims "Follow me, comrade aviators! Swim into the abyss. I have set up the semaphors of Suprematism….Infinity is before you", an aspiration which would enable everyone to journey into the realm of cosmic psychic equilibrium.[322]

Filonov, after expressing his ecstatic initiation and embodying its paradigms as a philosophy of life, was poised on the point of providing a didactic initiation for his students,

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316 Andersen, (1970a): 34-5; Douglas, (1994): 29-31
317 Andersen, (1970a): 34-5
318 Ibid
319 Jaffé, (1964): 303
320 J. Golding, (2000). *Paths to the Absolute*. Thames & Hudson, Washington: 78-9; Candela, (2014): 148
321 Quoted in R. Hunt, (1967). "The Constructivist ethos: Russia 1913-32". *Art Forum*
322 Milner, (1996): 171.

fulfilling his assigned roles of ideologue and pedagog, thus accomplishing the messianic task of his art. For Filonov the pedagogic 'master' or mentor was an individual who possessed the secrets of genuine technical knowledge and true craftedness or 'madeness'. He ran a studio that was alien to many others for it was not based on economic production but rather on the underlying principle of 'madeness', which came about through subjective psychological growth during the execution and implemented expression of the art object.[323] This understanding of the pedagogic 'master' is reminiscent of the 'master shaman', the conveyor of the distinct spiritual message which he spreads via the control of his vocation and craft.[324] Although this is of course not peculiar to shamanism, but rather is a conviction held by most 'masters'. It demonstrates Filonov's desire to achieve psychological healing through the capacity of his artistic vision, one which develops the fundamental facet of intuition, and thus one which actualises the reunification of the consciousness. Filonov further required that his pupils loyally vow to accept the principle of Analytical art as an essential prerequisite to all their artist endeavours.[325] Such an expression of absolute loyalty parallels the importance that many mystical masters place on the total allegiance of their apprentice mystically expressed in ritual. Filonov's understanding of the 'master' was as a figure who always strove towards the highest possible expression by utilising all the forces at his disposal executed with intense discipline and internal rigour and that through this action he was setting an example for his pupils who must also act in this manner.[326] He advocated that his pupils "think persistently and accurately over every atom" and he himself followed the same advice.[327] Filonov underwent his own two-fold 'Jungian' initiation as a neophyte and thus transformed himself into a figure bearing the mantle of archetypal reverence, a figure equipped with the developed capacities of his consciousness who could achieve psychological fulfilment.

Having undergone the neurophysiological and didactic experiences which form the 'archetype of initiation', the artists of the Russian avant-garde began to visually and literally allegorise their self-fulfilment of the Jungian 'shamanic' role. In other words they appear to transform themselves into a figure which could embody Jung's collective archetype, the figure which for Jung would metaphorically be the shaman.[328] For Malevich, Kandinsky, Goncharova

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[323] Misler (1983a): 26.
[324] Eliade, (1964): 13-14.
[325] Misler, (1983a): 27.
[326] Ibid.
[327] P. Filonov, (1930). "Tezisy iz rukopisi Filonova 'Ideologiia analiticheskogo iskusstva'" ["Abstracts of manuscripts Filonov 'Ideology of Analytical Art'"]. In *The Documents of 20th Century Art: The Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism 1902-1934*. 1976, edited by J. Bowlt. Viking Press, New York: 286.
[328] Henderson, (1964): 120.

and Larionov, the means by which to embody such a shamanic persona was through the metaphorical expression of the self through the medium of an assigned figure, be it an Ouspenskian 'superman', a renowned saint, the reversal of the gendered stereotype or the portrayal of a classical goddess. For Filonov the means to convey his newfound 'shamanic' role was through his literary expression, underlying his artistic theories and writings with profoundly mystical ideologies. Such 'shamanic' self-identification culminated in Larionov's and Goncharova's use of the body as the fundamental artistic medium, and the means by which to express and define their adoption of the archetypal mantle, and the ideology with which the artist will transcend the earthly realm, bringing about cosmic psychic equilibrium.

During the early twentieth century a great surge of interest in the privileged mystical status of the figure of the artist emerged. The writings of P. D. Ouspensky, and particularly his *The Fourth Dimension* (1909), and *Tertium Organum* (1912), provided the avant-garde with an esoteric context, based on heightened intuition, for which to ascertain and verify their conception of the pre-eminence of the artist.[329] According to Ouspensky, our phenomenal world of everyday reality is only a three-dimensional and incorrect reflection of our true noumenal four-dimensional reality. To access this higher and genuine dimension of reality we must expand our consciousness through cultivating and developing 'intuition', 'the fourth unit of psychic life', for the achievement of a conscious state which he equated with Richard Bucke's 'cosmic consciousness'.[330] The transition from our state of 'three-dimensional consciousness' to the higher 'four-dimensional 'cosmic' consciousness' can only be achieved by the 'superman', a figure whom Ouspensky later would equate with the artist. [331] Such a conception is interesting for it acts as a prefigured expression of Jung's notion that man's psychic dislocation, caused by rational education, can only be repaired through the apprehension and assimilation of unconscious collective archetypes, largely noumenal in nature, by the consciousness, a concept which required specifically the development of the psychic facet of intuition, and advocated the necessity for the conscious to perceive an 'inner unconscious realm'. The fact that Ouspensky

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[329] P. Ouspensky, (1909). "The Fourth Dimension". In *A New Model of the Universe: Principles of The Psychological Method in its Application to Problems of Science, Religion and Art*. 1960. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London; P. Ouspensky, (1922). *Tertium Organum: The Third Canon of Thought: A Key to the Enigmas of the World*. Translated by N. Bessaraboff & C. Bragdon. Alfred A. Knopf, New York. Originally published in 1911. St Petersburg; Petr Ouspensky was well known to the avant-garde, for he edited the Russian newspaper *Nov*, which both serialised his own writings and published articles which supported the Russian avant-garde.

[330] A. Parton, (1983). "Russian 'Rayism', the Work and Theory of Mikhail Larionov and Natalya Goncharova 1912-1914: Ouspensky's Four-Dimensional Super Race?" *Leonardo*, Vol. 16, No. 4: 299.

[331] P. Ouspensky, (1913). "Vnutrennii krug. O 'poslednei chert' i o sverkcheloveke. Dve lektsii", ["The Inner Circle: About the 'Final Limit' and Superman. Two Lectures"]. In *A New Model of the Universe: Principles of The Psychological Method in its Application to Problems of Science, Religion and Art*. 1960. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.

nominates the artist as his pivotal perceptive figure would enable the avant-garde to assign themselves the fundamental psychic facets to facilitate psychological healing.

Ouspensky advocated that art was the means by which to penetrate this hidden noumenal realm which lay behind all phenomena.[332] "Wishing to understand the noumenal world," he states, "we must seek a hidden meaning in everything".[333] Ouspensky believed that it was "the soul of the artist"[334] which could reveal this meaning. He states:

> "The phenomenal world is merely a means for the artist…a means for the understanding of the noumenal and the expression of that understanding. At the present stage of our development we possess nothing so powerful, as an instrument of knowledge of the world of causes, as art… The artist must be a clairvoyant: he must see that which others do not see. And he must be a magician, must possess the gift of making others see what they do not see by themselves, but what he sees."[335]

Such psychologically impregnated statements indicate the ability of the artist to apprehend and assimilate the noumenal contents of the unconscious, and outwardly express them for the facilitation of psychological healing in his spectator. This quote reveals the shamanic role which Ouspensky believes is the obligation of the artist. In reverencing his 'clairvoyance' and 'magical' qualities Ouspensky parallels those characteristics embodied by the shamanic figure. Ouspensky's 'superman' possessed the highly emotional qualities of which the shaman, particularly the Buriat shaman, is renowned.[336] The journey from the phenomenal realm to the noumenal one equates to the fundamental traversing of cosmological realms in the shamanic soul journey. The expansion of consciousness and the subsequent awareness of actual reality is not an easy process, as Ouspensky states:

> "[The 'superman'] will sense a precipice, an abyss everywhere, no matter where he looks, and experience indeed an incredible horror, fear, and sadness, until this fear and sadness shall transform themselves into the joy of the sensing of a new reality."[337]

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[332] Lipsey, (1988): 143; c.f. M. King, (1998). "Concerning the Spiritual in Twentieth-Century Art and Science". *Leonardo* Vol. 31. No. 1: 23.
[333] P. Ouspensky, (1922). *Tertium Organum: The Third Canon of Thought: A Key to the Enigmas of the World*. Translated by N. Bessaraboff & C. Bragdon. London. Originally published in 1911. St Petersburg: 131.
[334] Ibid: 133.
[335] Ibid: 133, 145.
[336] Parton, (1983): 302; Parton, (1993): 137. Indeed in "Luchistskaia zhivopis" ["Rayist Painting"], Larionov claimed to possess such an emotional trait evidenced in his statement "More than anything else we value intensity of feeling, and its great sense of uplifting". C.f. M. Larionov, (1913b). "Luchistskaia zhivopis" ["Rayist Painting"]. *Oslinyi khvost i Mishen [The Donkey's Tail and Target]*. Moscow. In *The Russian Avant Garde: Theory and Criticism 1902-1934*, (1976), edited and translated by J. Bowlt. Viking Press, New York: 99.
[337] Ouspensky, (1922): 219 ; C.f. Parton, (1983): 299.

A potentially shamanic statement, for the experience of horror at first on sensing the true reality reflects the experience of the shamanic initiate, who, as we have seen, on taking up the mantle of shamanic reverence, is frequently reported to be gripped by fear and horror at the magnitude of his undertaking and its subsequent responsibility, a reality in which, upon gaining experience as a shaman, he later revels. An experience which is of course common to many mystics and thus reveals its archetypal nature. The probable connection between Ouspensky's realm with its Jungian connotations and shamanism may further explain the avant-garde's choice of paralleling themselves with the Jungian shamanic figure, for it gave them a plethora of psychologically significant visual vocabulary with which to express their desire for psychic fulfilment.

It is easy to see how the avant-garde formed an analogy to the Jungian interpretation of shamanic principles in their understanding of the fourth dimension, for the parallels are striking. Firstly, the idea of a higher reality which it is necessary to actualise, as illustrated by the fourth-dimensional realm, equates to the necessity of the shaman to travel to the upper regions of cosmological reality or the unconscious access to the conscious. The fact that the person who will realise the fourth dimension must have a heightened conscious state and is described as a 'superman', equates to the understanding and role of the shamanic figure in his society as a being of heightened spiritual awareness, who on entering an altered state of consciousness can achieve other realms, the figure who embodies Jung's collective archetypes. We can see how shamanism might visually express the facilitation of Jungian psychic reunification. The artists would certainly have had access to fourth-dimensional theories given that the subject was popular among the scientists and mathematicians of contemporary Russia. Ouspensky's books were available shortly after their publication in public libraries.[338] While works such as Hinton's *The Fourth Dimension* (1904) and Bragdon's *Man the Square* (1912) , which further enlightened readers on how to attain the 'cosmic consciousness', appeared in Russia shortly after their publication in England.[339] [340] Furthermore, contemporary Russian mathematicians began to publish on a range of themes connected to this subject, from Tichomandricky's *Differential Geometry of Space of 'N' Dimensions*, (1906) to M. Lobachevsky's *Geometry and Space of Many Dimensions* (1894).[341] The avant-garde probably gained further understanding of the fourth dimension through their connection to

[338] Anna Butkovsky-Hewitt in her book: A. Butkovsky-Hewitt, (1978). *With Gurdjieff in St. Petersburg and Paris*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, recalled discovering *Tertium Organum* in a public library in St. Petersburg; C.f. Parton (1983): 299.
[339] C. Hinton, (1904). *The Fourth Dimension*. S. Sonnenschein & Company, New York.
[340] C. Bragdon, (1913). *A Primer of Higher Space, The Fourth Dimension, to which is added Man the Square, A Higher Space Parable.* Scientists of New Atlantis, New York. Originally published C. Bragdon, (1912). *Man the Square.* Manas Press, New York.
[341] Parton, (1983): 299.

Mikhail Matiushin of the Union of Youth. For Matiushin, owning several of Hinton's books, was very interested in the concept, writing an unpublished manuscript entitled *The Sensation of the Fourth Dimension* (1912-13).[342]

Such a superior shamanic-style status for the artist was quickly taken up by Malevich, who declared: "This is how I reason about myself and elevate myself into a Deity saying that I am all and that besides me there is nothing", and "I am the beginning of everything, for in my consciousness worlds are created."[343] A Jungian statement which parallels the deific status of the primary archetypal figure, the metaphorical shaman, and the notion of the cosmological realms 'created' in the ecstatic soul-journey, a metaphor for the apprehension and assimilation of unconscious motivations. Ouspensky heightens the fundamental significance of art when he states; "Cosmic consciousness is also possible of attainment through the emotion attendant upon creation - in painters, musicians and poets. Art in its highest manifestations is a path to cosmic consciousness."[344] The idea that the development of the intuitive creation became a vehicle to attaining consciousness of an ultimate reality was something which would deeply inspire Malevich's Suprematist vision, for it enabled him to utilise his art to facilitate psychological healing.[345]

When Malevich exhibited his *Black Square* (1915), (Fig. 11), his blatant geometric iconography may well have been referencing the conception of the 'fourth dimension', a dimension which can be equated to Ouspensky's noumenal realm. For Bragdon, in *Man the Square*, (1912), created an analogy whereby the phenomenal, visible world of man is parallel to a plane that was one section of a cube representing the noumenal realm.[346] This cube could be defined as God or the 'Great Self' and was composed of an infinite number of smaller cubes that were the higher intuitive selves of men. Most people, being confined to a consciousness of only the visible two-dimensional phenomenal world, had no knowledge of their potential cubic selves, or that a higher spatial dimension existed. However, among the plane-beings was one who would seek an explanation of the phenomena of his two-dimensional realm. He would notice how certain plane-beings, such as Christ, did not alter their shape throughout their phenomenal

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342 Ouspensky, (1913); c.f. Parton, (1993): 132.
343 Malevich, (1978): 29.
344 Ouspensky, (1922): 301; c.f. S. Compton, (1976). "Malevich's Suprematism –The Higher Intuition". *The Burlington Magazine* Vol. 118. No. 881: 585.
345 Sherwin Simons, (1978) III: 129.
346 C. Bragdon, (1913). *A Primer of Higher Space, The Fourth Dimension, to which is added Man the Square, A Higher Space Parable.* Scientists of New Atlantis, New York. Originally published C. Bragdon, (1912). *Man the Square.* Manas Press, New York: 14.

existence, but instead appeared as 'serene squares'.[347] The fourth dimension was supposed to exude "a feeling of communality with everyone. The unity of everything. The sensation of world harmony", an expression of the ultimate equilibrium achieved through psychological holism.[348] Desiring this equilibrium the inquisitive plane-being would attempt to alter his shape to a square[349] but "Failing in every effort to modify his perimeter, he might conceive the idea that a change of contour could be brought about only by a change of consciousness."[350] Hence the iconic square which dominates Malevich's canvas has profound significance for it represents the transition between the phenomenal and the noumenal worlds, it asserts a self-image that can be equated with the fourth dimension.[351] He wrote:

> "A hung plane of pictorial colour on a sheet of white canvas immediately gives a strong sensation of space to our consciousness. It transfers me into a bottomless waste where you sense the creative points of the universe about yourself."[352]

Malevich's square encompasses the 'archetype of transcendence' and outwardly facilitates the unconscious' access to the conscious. Bragdon's inquisitive 'plane-being' who recognises the limitations of his phenomenal existence equates to Malevich's Jungian conception of an artist who breaks the boundaries of natural representation to reveal higher cosmological dimensions, the spiritual realms of the unconscious.

In Malevich's text *Bog ne skinut [God is not Cast Down]* (1920) his vision of God is not an allusion to any conventional conception of a religious deity, but rather is a trans-valuation of such structured belief to produce an embodiment of a Nietzschean 'superman' in the form of a 'super-artist'. As such he implies that man himself undertaking the role of the artist can reach a divine perfection, for the concept of God is an ultimate reality intuitively revealed within oneself, consequently enabling man to act as 'God'.[353] Man in the form of demi-god, has become the victor over his ultimate enemy, nature. As Malevich proclaims "Nature created her own landscape…in contrast to the form of man. The canvas of a creator-painter is a place where he builds a world of his own intuition."[354] In this Malevich is demonstrating that in his pre-eminent

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[347] Sherwin Simons, (1978) III: 132-4; Such a concept was initially established in Edwin Abbott's novel *Flatland: A Romance of Many Dimensions*, which was published in 1884, and influenced the writings of Ouspensky, Bragdon, Hinton and many other thinkers and artists concerning the concept of the fourth dimension in the early 20th century.
[348] Ouspensky, (1922): 260.
[349] Sherwin Simons, (1978) III: 132-4.
[350] Bragdon, (1913): 21.
[351] Sherwin Simons, (1978) III: 132-4.
[352] E. Kovtun, (1971). "K. S. Malevich. Pisma k M. V. Matiushinu" ["K. S. Malevich. Letters to M. V. Matiushin"]. In *Ezhegodnik rukopisnogo otdela Pushkinskogo doma [Yearbook of the manuscript department of the Pushkin House]*. Akademicheskii proekt, Leningrad: 192.
[353] Golding, (2000):76; Sherwin Simons, (1978) III: 129.
[354] Malevich quoted in Gray, (1962): 199-200.

position the artist has broken the boundaries of the conventional natural realm and traversed into a higher noumenal realm governed by his intuition. He further advocates this journey by stating:

> "First of all he [the artist] freed his legs and then raised them –this was the first wrench from earth; and then, gradually, through the speed of wheels and the wings of aeroplane, he sailed further and further to the limit of the atmosphere, and then further still to his orbits, joining the rings of movement to the absolute."[355]

In this quote Malevich signifies the ultimate hegemony of the artist and the fundamental significance of his revelation of the true cosmic reality. In his escapist imagery Malevich perhaps parallels the shamanic flight of the soul. An 'archetype of transcendence', here emphasised through the image of the 'aeroplane'. By equating the artist to God, but a redefined conception of the deity, Malevich underlines the mystical supremacy of the artist, a figure whose escapist journey suggests that he embodies the Jungian 'shamanic' role and the universal spiritualism assigned to it.

Malevich exacerbates the importance of the creative intuition by relating his ultimate reality with the human skull.[356] As he declares:

> "Man's skull…is equal to the universe…Is not the whole universe that strange skull in which meteors, suns, comets and planets rush endlessly? And are they not simply concepts of cosmic thoughts, and are not their entire movement and space and they themselves non-objective? Man is also a Cosmos or Hercules around which rotate suns and their systems; similarly there revolve around him in a whirlwind all the objects he has created, and, like the sun, he guides them and draws them after him into the unknown path of the infinite;…Man, finding himself in the nucleus of universal stimulus, feels himself to be before the secret of perfection…everything that is clear in nature tells him by the power of its perfection that the universe, as perfection, is God."[357]

Malevich, by equating the human skull to the universe, and proclaiming that man is at its 'nucleus', further illustrates the importance of the artist and his creative intuition. For it is this 'universe' which represents 'cosmic thoughts', a signifier of the unconscious expression reaching the conscious level, and through this psychic development, true perfection can be reached. A role which parallels that of Jung's shaman, a significant mystical figure who strove to bring about cosmic equilibrium actualised through psychological holism. As such Malevich has assigned a cosmic dimension to his new art, art is no longer a representational object but rather the means by which 'perfection' can be achieved. Further eluding the historical significance of this

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[355] K. Malevich, (1920a). "Bog ne skinut" ["God is not Cast Down"]. In *K.S. Malevich: Essays on Art 1915-1933.* (1968), edited by T. Andersen, and translated by X. Glowacki-Prus. Vol.1. Borgen, Copenhagen: 197.
[356] Golding, (2000): 76.
[357] Malevich, (1920a): 193-7.

revelation, Malevich states that in Suprematism "we form our own time, (…) with our time and forms, and place the stamp of our face, leaving it in the flow of centuries where it will be recognised."[358] Such a statement suggests Malevich's desire to execute collective unconscious archetypes, which will transcend conventional boundaries of time and culture and actualise psychic fulfilment. Thus he pronounces the significance of such art and by implication the role of the artist.

Perhaps the best expression of Malevich's conception of the artist as an archetypal figure, particularly the 'archetype of transcendence', and his own embodiment of this can be found in his painting, *The Aviator*, (1914), (Fig. 36), one of his alogist works exhibited at the *Tramway V* exhibition in 1915. The title 'The Aviator' signifies the work as an embodiment of Jungian's 'archetype of transcendence'. The painting is characterised by a large cylindrical figure cast at the centre-left of the work who can be identified as the painting's protagonist, the aviator. Its significance is apparent, the blatant depiction of an airman defying gravity, traversing the dimensions and redefining man's physical capacities,[359] hence the personification of the Jungian 'shamanic' artist and the unconscious' collective archetype. Contextually it has been argued that this figure of the airman was an allegorical image for the Futurist poet, Vasily Kamensky, who was well-known at this time as an aviator. Kamensky encapsulated the Futurist conception of the *budetlyane*, or 'man of the future', whose destiny and obligation it was to 'fly' into higher, future realms.[360] As the publication *Sadok sudei [A Hatchery of Judges]* states; "The world is just beginning, its youth is our youth… wings. We, budetlyane must fly."[361] The 'Aviator', was an essential protagonist in the Cubo-Futurist opera, *Pobeda nad solntsem [Victory over the Sun]*, (1913), for which Malevich designed costumes and sets. In the opera, the 'Aviator' exemplified the Futurist 'New Man' or 'Universal', a character at ease with his existence in new dimensions of space and time. He embodied the positive qualities of other protagonists, such as the 'Traveller', who navigates his way through the centuries on the wheels of an aeroplane. Here he also references the Futurist Strongman, whose costume was formed from an Ace of Clubs, which Malevich's aviator clutches in his left-hand, a symbol of worldly power.[362] Consequently, the

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[358] K. Malevich, (1916b). "*K* novoi grani" ["To the New Limit"]. In *K.S. Malevich: Essays on Art 1915-1933*. (1968), edited by T. Andersen, and translated by X. Glowacki-Prus. Vol.1. Borgen, Copenhagen: 51; c.f. Sherwin Simons, (1978) III: 129.

[359] C. Humphreys, (1989). "Khlebnikov and Puni: Discovering the Language of the Stars". In *Cubo-Futurism in Russia, 1912-1922: The Transformation of a Painterly Style*, typescript from PhD Thesis. St Andrews University: 149-50.

[360] P. Stupples, (2001). "Malevich and the Liberation of Art". *New Zealand Slavonic Journal*: 22-23; V. Markov, (1968). *Russian Futurism: A History*. University of California Press, Oakland: 27-8.

[361] V. Kamensky, (1968). *Put entuziasta [Way Enthusiast]*. University of Perm, Perm: 96.

[362] Milner, (1996): 100; W. Sherwin Simons, (1978). "Kasimir Malevich's "Black Square": The Transformed Self: Part Two: The New Laws of Transrationalism," *Arts Magazine*. Vol. 53, No. 2: 131.

figure of the aviator, encapsulates the Futurist aspirations, and the conception of a powerful protagonist who traverses the cosmological realms with ease, the paradigmatic universal 'archetype of transcendence', a figure who traverses with the supremacy of the Jungian 'shamanic' artist, an incarnation of Malevich himself. Indeed, the yearning for transcendence occurs across folk tales, religious myths and mystical stories hence its status as a collective archetype, and thus its importance in this work, particularly given the context of the exciting almost magical status of 'flying' at this time, which was becoming a realisable phenomenon.

Another significant element of the work is the lettering on the top-right of the canvas which reads АПТЕКА, (APTEKA, 'chemist' or 'apothecary'). Suggestively, a large vertical saw and several arcs of light have divided this word into the formation А-ПТЕ-КА. Of these word fragments 'КА' appears most isolated and thus its fundamental symbolism is evoked. KA was the time-traveller who effortlessly traversed the multitudinous ages in Khlebnikov's poem *Ka*.[363] Khlebnikov defined his 'Ka' as:

> "The phantom of the soul, its double, an envoy to those people dreamed by its snoring master. Time offers no obstacles to Ka; he moves from dream to dream: he intersects time …Ka makes himself comfortable in the centuries as a rocking chair. Isn't it true that one's consciousness assembles the different ages as if they were chairs in a parlor?"[364]

It is interesting that Khlebnikov references the 'consciousness' here, and how it segments its perceptions, as this equates to the Jungian concept of a fully functioning, united consciousness which is able to segment and assemble its apprehended and assimilated perceptions. Thus the profound emblematic nature of Malevich's KA is evident. By isolating the letters Malevich focuses the viewer onto its conception, reminding him of the archetypal status of the aviator and the capacity of the artist himself to heal the psyche. Khlebnikov emphasises the ease with which Ka could traverse the ages, being simultaneously aware of past and future and consequently linking ancient systems with contemporary events in a rhythmic vision of history and cosmology itself.[365] He states: "I [Ka] drifted from the dust of Copernicus to the dust of Mendeleev, constantly aware of the noise of a Sikorsky airplane" and "I thought about bits of time melting into the universe."[366] He has the propensity to simply disappear and reappear in the centuries at will, "Ka saluted, touched his cap and disappeared, grey and winged."[367] It is interesting that

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[363] Humphreys, (1989): 150; Milner,(1996): 100.
[364] V. Khlebnikov, (1989). *Collected Works of Velimir Khlebnikov: Prose, Plays, and Supersagas.* Edited by Charlotte Douglas and Ronald Vroon. Harvard University Press, Cambridge: 47; V. Khlebnikov, (1976). *Snake Train: Poetry and Prose.* Edited by G. Kern and translated by G. Kern, R. Sheldon, E. Brown, N. Cornwell and L. Feiler. Ardis, Michigan: 159.
[365] Milner, (1996): 116.
[366] Khlebnikov, (1989), II: 73; c.f. L. Henderson, (1983). *The Fourth Dimension*: 242.
[367] Khlebnikov, (1989), II: 63.

Khlebnikov describes Ka as 'grey and winged' for it perhaps references contemporary depictions of shamans clad in their shamanic dress often characterised by its ornithic appearance. Khlebnikov's Ka was inspired by the contemporary conception of 'Ka' as a phantom or shadow, a person's double, whose function was to "guide the fortunes of the individual in the hereafter."[368] Such a role was also embodied by the shaman whose duty it was to act as a psychopomp, a guide for the souls of individuals into the afterlife. Khlebnikov's Ka fulfils the requirements of a Jungian collective archetype, in his ability to appear throughout the ages. The attribution of such a role is further intensified by the juxtaposition of the aviator with a large white sturgeon. For according to ancient symbolism, fish represented together with birds or those capable of flight, are chthonic and funerary evocative of the hope for rebirth due to their connection with the lunar deities. Fish swimming upwards, as here, reflect the elevation of the spirit.[369] Jung argued that fish images represented man's earthly chthonic connection, and this combined with their ability to swim, made them significant collective archetypes as they drew upon both initiatory and transcendental symbolism. Enhancing the symbolism of flight, are the letters PT which are evocative of PTITSA (PTITSA, bird), manifestly providing connotations of flying, a paradigmatic example of Jung's transcendent archetype.[370] The bird is also a symbolic animal in shamanic doctrine, for it referenced a powerful spirit-helper, and symbolised the flight of the shaman's soul. Thus Malevich's KA is a force which transcends the conventional confines of time and space, epitomised by the aviator and by implication the artist, who destroys the old order governed by such constraints.[371]

The gigantic sturgeon diagonally crossing the canvas further adds to the shamanic qualities of the work, for its artistic execution resembles that of the zoomorphic 'fish' idol, prominent among the Evenk (Tungus) tribe. Examples of such ritualistic artefacts are the *Shaman's Spirit Helper, Fish,* (Fig. 37) of the Evenki (Tungus) people, a larch wood idol acquired by the Russian Museum of Ethnography in St Petersburg from the Aleksei Makarenko expedition in 1908; and the *Banner of the supreme divinity of the Evenki people, Sevoki*, (Fig. 38), also in the same museum during this period.[372] Malevich's sturgeon is depicted in an elongated narrow form with a thin pointed tail and razor like fins executed solely in white, an artistic language which perhaps mimics the characteristic features of the 'fish' idol, the narrow length of the body

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[368] J. Breasted, (2012). *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*. HardPress, New York: 52; c.f. Sherwin Simons, (1978), II: 132-4.
[369] C.f. J. Cooper, (1978). *An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Traditional Symbols*. Thames & Hudson, London: 68.
[370] Milner, (1996): 100.
[371] Sherwin Simons, (1978), II: 132-3.
[372] T. Sem, (2013). "The Smaller Shamanic Idols of the Peoples of Siberia". In *The Russian Avant-Garde Siberia and the East,* edited by J. Bowlt, N. Misler & E. Petrova. Skira, Florence: 87; Bowlt, Misler & Petrova, (2013a): 259.

created solely from the wood of the sacred larch tree and a small tail divided into two points at its end. The sturgeon was a highly symbolic animal among the Evenk (Tungus) tribe, for it symbolises their master spirit of hunting, Sevoki, the celestial powers of whom were considered supreme, and the gills of the renowned Siberian Kaluga sturgeon were fed to the idols of the Evenk (Tungus) shamanic ancestor Mugdy to guarantee a prosperous hunt. Mugdy represented the highest deity of the *taiga*, or forest, and was placed by the shaman beside the door of a person's home to ensure longevity in health and rejuvenation in spirit.[373] Small fish made from wood or stone were often among collections of Evenk (Tungus) shamanic charms which were given by the shaman to members of his clan for protection from evil spirits and illness, whilst also ensuring a prosperous livelihood. The bunch of charms would be made up of idols of spirit-guides, these took the form of clan ancestors, the *Khomokon,* which included a Mugdy figure, usually adorned with fabric and beads; spirits to protect the house, the *Tana*; spirits for the hearth, usually in the form of crows or eagles; and the spirit lords of the earth, represented by small fish idols. These idol charms were considered to be alive and were consequently propitiated.[374] Among the Evenk (Tungus), the pike and burbot fish were believed to guard the entrance to the lowest realm.[375] Such conceptions were valued by Jung, as he believed that the outward projection of powerful inner motives onto spirits or into charms signified a consciousness which was able to apprehend and segment the perilous whims of his psyche. The use of the fish is also an example of *dvoeverie*, for it is Christian symbol derving from the Greek word ΙΧΘΥΣ ICTHUS, an acronym for Ιησοῦς Χριστός, Θεοῦ Υἱός, Σωτήρ, Jesus Christ God's Son, Saviour. Indeed, Malevich's use of capitalised word fragments, in particular APTEKA, further permeates his aviator with such a spiritualised function. Malevich, by depicting his mystical aviator with a dominant sturgeon in the aesthetic form of a ritualistic idol and a dominant Christian symbol, imbues him with the significant regenerative powers of the Jungian 'shaman'. One should bear in mind that there is no direct evidence from Malevich himself that he was inspired by these symbolic schemas but it is certainly likely that he was aware of them and given the importance placed on the psychological capacity of art this reading seems probable. Hence the archetypal artist is facilitated with his symbolic artefact as he embarks on his cosmic quest for social psychic regeneration.

A further symbolic element radiates from the Aviator's hat, which is essentially a small black square with a 'zero' written inside it. We have already mentioned the importance of

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373 Sem, (2013): 89.
374 Ibid: 93.
375 Exhibition plaque for Shaman's Spirit Helper, Fish, in *The Russian Avant-Garde Siberia and the East*, (27th September 2013 – 19th January 2014, Palazzo Strozzi, Florence).

Malevich's black square as the means by which an individual might traverse his visible realm and enter the higher noumenal realm, after transforming representational phenomena into the nullity of the non-objective sensation, the outward projection of the contents of the artist's unconscious. Here Malevich makes evident the association of 'zero' with the black square, by placing the zero inside the Aviator's hat, and by pointing to it. He uses a red arrow which stretches from an egg-beater or whisk, which is obstructing the Aviator's right eye, to the white zero encapsulated by a black square, perhaps already the 'zero of form'.[376] This mysterious notion of the null plane, 'emptiness' or 'nothingness', became an essential concept for Malevich in 1915. He states "We are organising a journal…we intend to reduce everything to zero in it, we have decided to call it Zero. We ourselves will then transcend zero."[377] A conception evidently propounded by *The Aviator*, (Fig. 36), for by the synthesising mix of cultural ideals, symbolised through the whisk, intuition is heightened allowing the artist to attain the condition of nullity, the tabula rasa of zero, and hence traverse into a higher dimension. Such a revelation slices through APTEKA with its heightened perceptibility, and hence the destruction of the old conventions reveals the transformative power of the new figure, KA, the archetypal artist epitomised by the figure of the aviator.[378] Malevich's representation of this noumenal realm equates to Ouspensky's understanding of how one might express the fourth dimension:

> "Every thought expressed about [the world of higher dimensions] in our ordinary everyday language will be false...It is possible to speak about it only conditionally, by hints, by symbols…If one interprets literally anything said about it, nothing but absurdity results."[379]

As such the illogical objects represented by Malevich in the painting, are not to be interpreted according to how we might understand them in their everyday context, but instead they act as symbolic portals to understanding and evoking the new reality of the higher realms, an inherently Jungian conception.[380] For as we have seen, the unconscious, in its attempt to realign itself with the conscious, forces symbolic subliminal images into the conscious plane, but these images are expressed in the ancient 'language of nature', which is initially incomprehensible to us. It is up to us to develop our intuition in order to apprehend and assimilate these unconscious symbols and realign our consciousness. In producing this alogical canvas permeated with symbolic symbols

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376 Milner, (1996): 100, 120.
377 Cited in L. Zhadova, & K. Malevich, (1982). *Malevich: Suprematism and revolution in Russian art 1910-1930*. Thames & Hudson, New York: 123, n.4. In 1915 Matiushin was also referencing and analysing elements of the fourth dimension, c.f. Henderson, (1983): 285.
378 Sherwin Simons, (1978), II: 132-3.
379 Ouspensky quoted in Humphreys, (1989): 150.
380 Humphreys, (1989): 150; c.f. P. Railing, (1998). "The Cognitive Line in Russian Avant-Garde Art," *Leonardo.* Vol. 31, No. 1. San Francisco: 73.

acting as collective archetypes, Malevich is perhaps training our psyche to facilitate psychological healing.

Malevich's 'Aviator' holds an ace of clubs in his left hand, another deliberate, emblematic act. Ouspensky discussed the symbolism of tarot and other card games in his 1912, *Simvoly taro. Filosofiia okkultizma v risunkakh i chislakh [The Symbolism of the Tarot. Philosophy of Occultism in Pictures and Numbers]*.[381] Here he states that card games:

> "…really represent one system of a very broad and deep psychological investigation of the nature of man in his relation to the world of noumena (God, the world of the Spirit) and to the world of phenomena (the visible, physical world)."[382]

Subsequently, Ouspensky would equate tarot especially to a:

> "…kind of philosophical abacus…It is an appliance for exercising the mind, for accustoming it to new and wider concepts, to thinking in a world of higher dimensions and to the understanding of symbols."[383]

As a further indication of his Jungian perception, Malevich's protagonist is a card-player. He clutches the ace of clubs, which, according to Ouspensky symbolised the primary 'principle of fire', hence representing the active characteristics of the human psyche. As a card player Malevich's Aviator again embodies his Jungian 'shamanic' role, a character who transcends the phenomenal realm and emerges in a higher dimension after conquering the constraints of earthly convention.[384]

Overall, in *The Aviator*, (1914), (Fig. 36), Malevich created a plastic allegory of the phenomenology of flight and transcended this flight to formulate an archetypal individual, epitomised as the artist himself, who has been transformed through his higher perceptions. Such a figure equated to Ouspensky's conception of the 'Superman'.[385] Ouspensky argued that the notion of the 'superman' was the "mystical occult and theosophical conception of man."[386] As such the 'superman' rejects any sociological conception of man's being, especially in its present state, but rather views man as a transitional means to a heightened conscious state, a self-embodiment of Jung's fulfilment of the psyche's potential. Ouspensky stated that the superman

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[381] P. Ouspensky, (1970). *Simvoly taro. Filosofiia okkultizma v risunkakh i chislakh [The Symbolism of the Tarot, Philosophy of Occultism in Pictures and Numbers]*. Dover Publications, New York. Originally published in 1912 in St Petersburg.
[382] Ouspensky, (1970): 7.
[383] This quote comes from a later revised transcript of the essay in P. Ouspensky, (1960). *A Model of the Universe: Principles of the Psychological Method in its Application to Problems in Science, Religion and Art*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London: 188-189.
[384] Sherwin Simons, (1978), II: 132-5.
[385] C.f. P. Ouspensky, (1913): 7.
[386] Ouspensky, (1960): 106.

was "a measure of the nothingness of man."[387] Malevich's 'Aviator', and by extension the artist himself, who transcends the 'zero of form' and liberates the heightened conception of himself in KA, certainly fulfils the characteristics of Ouspensky's 'superman', a mystical being identified in Jung's figure of the shaman.[388]

For Kandinsky the assumption of the role of the Jungian 'shaman' came in what can be read as his self-identification with the image of St George as a vanquishing rider astride his mythic steed, the hero of Russian folklore. In the figure of St George, Kandinsky appears to find an identity steeped in shamanic symbolism, in particular that of healing and regeneration.[389] The horse was a symbolic animal in shamanic literature, among the Buriats, whose shamanic drum was his metaphorical horse, and both Buriat and Siberian shamans acted as metaphorical 'riders', with a vocation to heal.[390] Instilled with such symbolism Kandinsky, it could be argued, found a visual expression of his intrinsic psychological yearning, to represent and facilitate a means to reunify the consciousness. Kandinsky linked the artist and his talent to an allegorical rider and horse. In *Rückblicke*, (1913), he states:

> "The horse carries the rider quickly and sturdily. The rider, however, guides the horse. The artist's talent carries him to great heights quickly and sturdily. The artist, however, guides his talent."[391]

In this statement Weiss argues that Kandinsky links the artist and his talent to the St George horse and rider motif and by extension the shaman and his drum.[392] Shamans were required to keep themselves in check, to 'rein in' their talent, and to control their capacity to achieve various states of trance.[393] Several analogies can be found between the artist's roles and that of the shaman. A shaman was often considered an inherently creative individual and for the Siberian natives their artistic expression is deeply connected with their shamanism.[394] In fact, St George, Russia's ubiquitous Egori the Brave, although a Christian saint, was certainly at this point empowered with shamanic abilities.[395] It was this empowerment that made St George the perfect embodiment of a Jungian collective archetype, for he was impregnated with universal spiritual

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[387] Ibid: 103.
[388] Sherwin Simons, (1978), II: 136.
[389] Weiss, (1995): 72.
[390] Ibid: 72.
[391] Kandinsky, (1913a): 370.
[392] Weiss, (1987): 197.
[393] Weiss, (1995): 79.
[394] C.f. K. Nordland, (1967). "Shamanism as an Experiencing of the 'Unreal'". In *Studies in Shamanism*, edited by C. Edsman. Almquist and Wiksell, Stockholm: 167-185.
[395] Weiss, (1987): 197.

significance, and further he fulfilled the prerequisites of Jung's transcendent and heroic archetypes.

Weiss argues that we can see Kandinsky's self identification with St George as early as 1903 with the work *Blue Rider*, (Fig. 14). Here we can see Kandinsky introducing this symbolic emblem as a lone vanquisher riding mysteriously in a vast landscape. The figure of the rider dressed in a royal blue cape riding a white horse is bathed in an eerie yet warm light, evoking the atmosphere of German fairytales, a characteristic feature of Kandinsky's work at this time.[396] For Kandinsky, blue was to become the defining celestial symbol. In *Über das Geistige in der Kunst [Concerning the Spiritual in Art]* (1911), he states: "Blue is the typical heavenly colour."[397] It is argued that he equated the motif of a spiritual rider with the fabled figure of St George, overpowering his 'dragon' of materialism'.[398] Hence we can see the early formation of Kandinsky's blue rider motif, one which one might suggest he would later identify both with St George and by extension, the shaman. This fairytale motif advanced into a schematised symbol of strife and progression in Kandinsky's artistic iconography as his self-identification with St George matured and he placed greater significance on the saint's symbolism.[399] A signifier of Kandinsky's progressing comprehension of his own psyche; for animal images, Jung argued, symbolised man's primal instincts and demonstrated his phenomenal psychic associations, thus by representing a spiritually symbolic animal, Kandinsky reveals his ability to express a valid 'collective archetype'. A more superior psychic capacity was the individual's ability to outwardly project his unconscious, something Jung argues was achieved by abstraction, for this signified the artist's ability to compartmentalise his inner psychic motivations. As Kandinsky began to take up the shamanic mantle in his breakthrough to abstraction so did the motif of St George start to become ever present and more prominent in his artistic *oeuvre*, an indication that the saint was to become the means to visually express his unconscious.

In his reverse painting on glass, *St George I* (1911), (Fig. 39), Kandinsky depicts the mythic St George astride a royal blue horse dappled with golden flecks. Such a depiction, Weiss argues, implies Kandinsky's association of the St George figure with the Siberian shaman, for in Siberia the piebald horse was the favoured shamanic metaphorical steed. One might argue that the horse is in fact decked out in regalia rather than a piebald horse, but either way the horse and rider

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396 J. Faerna, (2005). *Masterpieces: Kandinsky*. Poligrafa, Barcelona: 26.
397 W. Kandinsky, (2006). *Über das Geistige in der Kunst [Concerning the Spiritual in Art*]. MFA Publications, Boston. Originally published in 1912 in Munich: 75.
398 A. Hoberg, (2011). "Overview of Blaue Reiter". Paper presented at The Blue Rider: Centenary Symposium, Tate Modern, London, November 25-26; Weiss, (1982): 28-82; Weiss, (1979): 85, 132, 146-48; Weiss, (1985): 140.
399 Düchting, (2007): 25.

archetypal motif is present. The St George figure wears a helmet and armour of bright gold which Weiss suggest is as a reference to the Golden Prince or World Watching Man.[400] Ubiquitous in accounts of shamanism is the notion that the shaman must act as an intermediary between the different realms of existence.[401] This role of intercessor was a vital part of the shaman's duty as a healer, for spiritual entities can have a fundamental impact on both humans and animals, and thus communication with them is crucial.[402] The combination of St George and World-Watching Man motif may be symbolic of good's victorious conquest over evil and of the shamanic intercession between humanity and the divine as he intended to heal and restore equilibrium.[403] The primary shamanic purpose is to heal; both a sick individual and by extension the whole community, for the individual and the community are inevitably connected as components of the cosmic equilibrium. It was perhaps in the utilisation of such significant ideology and iconography that Kandinsky found a visual means to express his underlying psychic motivations, the establishment of a way to facilitate psychological healing. Kandinsky's archetypal healing mission seems to become apparent in 1911 with the formation of the Blue Rider movement and the beginnings of the *Almanac Der Blaue Reiter [The Blue Rider Almanac]* (1912). It was at this time that Kandinsky began to assign a Jungian therapeutic metaphor to himself as leader of the new artistic movement and to his artistic expression through the figure of St George. Indeed it was St George who appeared on the cover of the almanac.[404] In an article published in 1930, Kandinsky brushes over the significance of the name of his pioneering art movement, stating "We made up the name 'The Blue Rider' over coffee in the leafy garden at Sindelsdorf. Both of us loved blue, Marc –horses, I –riders."[405] [406] However, in the context of his artistic *oeuvre* and the development of the 'blue rider' motif it could be argued that the name was in fact one of great symbolic significance for the artist. In Murnau, where both the Blue Rider concept and movement were formed, Kandinsky's signature saint was frequently depicted. The town's patron saint was in fact St George and he was illustrated in sculptures, paintings and icons everywhere.[407] In Russia, St George is one of the great patron saints, St George the Victorious, a symbol of his ability to overcome evil. For Kandinsky, it would seem that St George, whose image adorned the cover of the *Almanac Der Blaue Reiter*, (1912), became the paradigmatic

[400] Ibid: 72.
[401] Drury, (1989): 5; Winkelman, (2000): 106.
[402] Winkelman, (2000): 62.
[403] Weiss, (1995): 72.
[404] Ibid: 72, 87.
[405] A. Zweite, (1989). *The Blue Rider, in the Lenbachhaus, Munich*. Lenbachhaus Publications, Munich: 38.
[406] W. Kandinsky, (1930). "'Der Blaue Reiter' (Rückblick)" ["The Blue Rider (Review)"]. *Das Kunstblatt [The Art Journal]*. XIV: n. 59.
[407] Weiss, (1995): 94-5.

therapeutic metaphor for social and cultural psychic healing and salvation which he sought as a leitmotif. Perhaps representing simultaneously the amalgamation of pagan and Christian beliefs and an inspiring force for social change, the saint's archetypal powers and thus Kandinsky's own archetypal qualities became apparent.[408]

Weiss argues Kandinsky's self-identification with St George and hence his own shamanic inference would climax in his *Picture with the White Edge* (1913), (Fig. 32).[409] In the sketches for this fundamental canvas Kandinsky's iconographic language evolved, particularly concerning the horse-and-rider motif, which had had become a significant part of his artistic expression. Kandinsky's motif would become abstracted to a single curved line seemingly reminiscent of the pictographic schema seen on shamanic drums. We can see this process of abstraction in a sketch for the painting (ca. 1912-13), (Fig. 40), in which the artist draws a sequence of hieroglyphs to test out how to represent the St George motif that would dominate the painting, as well as further pictographic symbols with which to illustrate Elijah's troika. In a pen and ink study for the painting in 1912, (Fig. 41), Kandinsky places his new schematised St George inside a circular shape, which Weiss argues represents the shamanic drum, a motfi symbolic of shamanic pictography where the figure of the shaman is often depicted on the drum face. Thus she argues Kandinsky imbues his St George figure with shamanic reverence. Kandinsky would later equate the circle with the horse and this coupled with the shamanic horse/drum metaphor, Weiss suggests, creates the culmination of Kandinsky's shamanic identity expressed through the figure of St George.[410] A reading which certainly adds archetypal relevance to Kandinsky's use of the motif. Looking at the work in this context perhaps adds clarity to his statement in his essay concerning *Picture with White Edge* 1913, (Fig. 32), that there is a "battle in black and white" at the bottom left.[411] For one might associate it with Buriat shamanic ideology in which there was a distinction between the good and evil shamans as being white and black respectfully. Of course black and white are symbolic for good and evil beyond shamanism, but this may then evoke its archetypal suggestion. Here then perhaps you can read Kandinsky's schematic St George shrouded in a symbolic blue haze as entering his shamanic trance and in doing so vanquishing the dragon of materialism, crouched crab-like in the left corner. Through this symbolic act, which dominates the work, one might suggest that St George therapeutically restores the cosmic equilibrium. Certainly it would appear that Kandinsky in his self-identification with St George

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408 Weiss, (1995): 95; Weiss, (1987): 197; Düchting, (2007): 25; R. Washton-Long, (1975). "Kandinsky's Abstract Style: The Veiling of Apocalyptic Folk Imagery". *Art Journal.* Vol. 34. No. 3: 221.
409 Weiss, (1995): 87; Weiss, (1985): 140.
410 Weiss, (1995): 87.
411 Kandinsky, (1913c): 391.

achieves spiritual regeneration and psychic healing through the work.[412] Indeed it could be argued that it was through his self-identification with St George that Kandinsky established his archetypal persona as an artist, a figure permeated with spiritual symbolism that allowed the artist to find a language with which to facilitate psychological healing.

It could be asserted that Goncharova relied on her gender as the means by which to self-embody Jung's shamanic role. It seems that the idea of the shaman as a leader, intermediary, and spiritual healer appealed to her mysticism. Indeed, Parton has argued that she adopted a spiritual persona through which she felt that she could facilitate her quest for social regeneration.[413] Goncharova was in an interesting predicament as an artist, being a female practitioner in a society dominated by men. The issue of gender became inextricably linked to her work, underpinning both her aesthetic system and artistic practise.[414] Goncharova declared to her fellow women:

> "Believe in yourself more, in your strengths and rights before mankind and God, believe that everybody, including women, has an intellect in the form of the image of God, that there are no bounds to the human will and mind."[415]

The 'woman issue' was the subject of intense debate both culturally and politically during the period, and change was beginning to be effected. The education system became more open to women, with the Imperial Academy of Arts, St Petersburg, admitting women in 1871. This initiated a trend throughout the Russian academic system, which had a fundamental impact on Goncharova, for it allowed her to study art and provided her with a forum to contribute to the debate concerning women. However, societal changes such as these only benefitted the middle-class intelligentsia, and thus the vast majority of women were left oppressed by a conservative patriarchal establishment.

Goncharova addressed this by challenging the conventions of her chauvinistic society. She succeeded in doing so by manifestly presenting herself and her views in her paintings and in

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412 Washton-Long further emphasises the spiritual regeneration of the work by examining its veiled apocalyptic references citing a Russian folk sculpture of a horseman spearing a multi-headed dragon as described in the Book of Revelations as a source for Kandinsky's motif. This work was reproduced in W. Kandinsky & F. Marc, eds., (2005). *Almanac Der Blaue Reiter [The Blaue Reiter Almanac]*. MFA, Boston. Originally published in 1912 in Munich: 73 [the second page of Burliuk's essay "The 'Savages' of Russia"]. In addition, she demonstrates that Kandinsky adds an apocalyptic trumpet veiled in grey and shrouded further by patches of pale blue and pink. She argues that through depicting these motifs Kandinsky merged the Last Judgement and St George motif to show the artist's messianic role in bringing about the effective destruction of materialism. C.f. Washton Long, (1975): 217-228.

413 Parton, (2010): 103.

414 Ibid.

415 N. Goncharova, (1913a). "Open Letter". In *Amazons of the Avant-Garde: Exter, Goncharova, Popova, Rozanova, Stepanova, Udaltsova*, (1999), translated and edited by J. Bowlt, & M. Drutt. Guggenheim Museum Publications, New York: 313-314. Original source Nikolai Rykovsky Archive, Manuscript Division, Russian State Library, Moscow, f. 421, No. 1, ed., khr., 33.

her activity as an artist. She was preoccupied with her image as a female artist, and with her duty to expose the oppression of women, particularly of the rural peasants.[416] This may have been why primitivism appealed to her, for many 'primitive' societies are characterised by their egalitarianism, in fact, often the female figure is more revered than her male counterpart. Indeed, concerning shamanic societies, the ethnographer Krasheninnikoff states; "The female sex is nicer and probably cleverer, therefore there are more women and *koekchuch* among the shamans than there are men."[417] [418] Goncharova's work was extremely radical for she controversially engaged with the debate about women in a way that few female artists had done before, for most practised within the restricted boundaries permitted to them, posing no danger to the status quo.[419]

Such a challenge was not easy, for a regimented conservative community was prominent in society and advocated that the cultural and moral decline of Russia was due to the increased emancipation of women. When Goncharova began exhibiting works which challenged the status quo a large amount of media attention was generated, making her the subject of rumour, gender discussion and artistic debate.[420] Such controversy can be seen at the *Oslinyi khvost [Donkey's Tail]* exhibition of 11th March 1912, an exhibition which Goncharova dominated with the inclusion of over fifty paintings. Not only did the public censor remove eight religious paintings by Goncharova due to the 'inappropriate nature of the exhibition', but the exhibition's opening also coincided with Goncharova's public trial for indecency, a charge issued after she displayed apparently 'pornographic works' earlier in 1910.[421] [422] She was slated in the national press. Benois even called her "Moskovskii strazhil" "the Muscovite Terror."[423] Her gender was the true cause of this criticism, for by painting subjects of a religious nature she encroached upon an area unique to the male artist and thus was believed to have transgressed the acceptable boundaries assigned to women.[424]

Such criticism did not dampen her spirit, rather it inspired her to utilise her transgressive potential as a female artist to wage a cultural war against the 'enlightened' bourgeoisie, and to

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[416] Parton, (2010):103-4, 106.
[417] 'Koekchuch' is the ancient Siberian word for 'lesbian'.
[418] S. Krasheninnikoff, (ed.,) (1775). *Puteshestvennik, issledovatel Kamchatki [Description of the Country of Kamchatka]*. Moscow: 15.
[419] Parton, (2010): 106.
[420] Ibid 54.
[421] C.f. Voloshin, (1912): 105; Unknown, (1912). "Tsenzura i "Oslinyi khvost"" ["Censorship and 'The Donkey's Tail'"]. *Golos Moskvy [The Voice of Moscow]*. No. 59, March 11: 5.
[422] Parton, (2010): 11.
[423] A. Benois, (1912). "Vystavka 'soiuza molodezhi'" ["Exhibition of 'The Union of Youth'". *Rech [Speech]*. No. 257. St Petersburg: 4.
[424] Parton, (2010): 11, 121.

deconstruct Russia's social and cultural establishment including the gendered inequalities upon which it was built.[425] One of Goncharova's most impressive achievements was her solo show in August 1913, held in the Art Salon, 11 Bolshaya Dmitrovka, in Moscow, which exhibited over 820 works from her entire *oeuvre* to that point.[426] This retrospective exhibition was remarkable for it was enormous and diverse, detailing every phase of her career, and it was extremely rare to exhibit a one-woman show during this period. The exhibition thrust Goncharova into the limelight and thus fulfilled her goal of broadcasting her provocative work to the masses, a means by which she could perhaps facilitate social regeneration, or at least challenge the inequalities placed on women.[427] Goncharova never wavered from her underlying moral path, and over the course of the following four years she finally won over the critical establishment, who began to appreciate the success of her enterprise. Despite, being surrounded in scandal, Goncharova was able to forge a reputation which emphasises her role as a leader of the Russian avant-garde.[428] Thus we can see Goncharova utilising her art and her powerful role as a female artist to address gender inequality and to begin to facilitate change and the ultimate regeneration of a corrupted society, through reversing the damage caused by the 'Enlightenment'.

The paradigm of a powerful female figure also inspired Larionov, who utilised the classical goddess Venus as the means by which to enact his role of archetypal leader. His Venus series may represent a conflation of the Venus figure with the shamanic artist in the Jungian sense, whilst also exemplifying the 'primitive' aspects and social subversion of Larionov's complicated modernism. There are grounds to argue that Larionov used the classical image as a medium to convey shamanic conceptions, for the relationship between Siberian shamanism and Classical mythology had been positively established by Khlebnikov in his poem "Shaman i Venera" published in *Sadok sudei II* in 1912, on which Larionov collaborated.[429] This poem is accompanied by a pencil drawing, (Fig. 42) which depicts Venus with a Mongolian shaman. In this intimate depiction Venus, who appears in the foreground nude with her characteristic long hair trailing down her spine, radiates. She faces the shaman who is crouched and surrounded by

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[425] Ibid: 11, 80.

[426] M. Chamot, (1979). *Goncharova: Stage Designs and Paintings.* Oresko Books, London: 13. It is interesting to note that Goncharova subsequently organised a second solo exhibition at the Art Bureau of N. Donychina in St Petersburg. Once again her work was subjected to scandal and debate. Indeed, responding to a critic, (W-no other details can be found concerning his identity), the Over-Procurator of the Holy Synod gave an "urgent request" to the Governor of St Petersburg to expel 22 "offensive" artworks from her show. Later, however, the Spiritual Sensor, finding "no blasphemy" in the works, ordered them to be returned and displayed. C.f. Parton, (2010): 100.

[427] Parton, (2010): 92.

[428] Parton, (2010): 59.

[429] Interestingly Vera Khlebnikov, Velimir's sister, produced an accompanying pencil sketch to Velimir's *Shaman i Venera* in 1920, which represents a sage aged shamanic figure in his yurt smoking a pipe, c.f. Misler, (2013): 115-116; Bowlt, Misler & Petrova, (2013a): 306.

his ritualistic paraphernalia. This is one of the few instances where we are certain of the protagonist's shamanic identity and suggests the importance of combining classical and shamanic imagery. Larionov provided illustrations which were placed beside the poem, all this undertaken at the same time as he was painting his Venus series. It may be asserted that Larionov and Khlebnikov examined this theme together as many features of the poem are reflected in Larionov's work. The two main protagonists of Khlebnikov's poem are the shaman and Venus, both subjects that seem to appear in Larionov's art. In his later work, it might be argued that Larionov utilises a combination of shamanic and classical elements. For example, Larionov's illustration for the back-cover of *Treize Dances*, (Fig. 43), depicts Hermes, the messenger-god of classical mythology, in a manner similar to sacralised Buriat drawings. Indeed, Hermes was a figure often fused with the image of a shaman.[430] Jung identified both the figure of Hermes and that of the shaman as 'archetypes of transcendence', thus the conflation of classical and shamanic motifs may be a means to achieving psychic holism.[431]

On 29th October 1912, Larionov publicly announced to the Moscow newspaper, *Stolichnaia molva [Capital-City Rumours]*, that he had completed a series of Venus canvases: Gypsy, Jewish and Katsap (a Ukrainian pejorative term for Russians), in addition to sketches for Moldavian, Turkish, Greek, Chinese, Japanese, Indian, Black, Ukrainian, and French Venuses. The reporter stated that; "In these works the artist plans to note those characteristic features with which every people endows their own ideal of beauty."[432] A conception which Zdanevich further supported by advocating that Larionov's Venuses were a 'celebration' rather than a mere description of ethnically-defined conventions of beauty.[433] If the series was viewed with Jungian preconceptions, one might argue that Larionov exhibited different races of Venuses to indicate that the message conveyed by his canvases was universal, transcending any racial barrier. It was a message intended for the unconscious, a means to express its contents and to facilitate psychological realignment through the apprehension and assimilation of the works. Although Larionov may well have abandoned this extensive project almost directly after this interview, the

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430 Parton, (1993): 108; Hermes frequently acted as a 'Psychomp' in Greek mythology, and thus played a similar role to the shamanic figure in his society. Eliade further discusses the connection between shamanism and Greek mythology, c.f. Eliade, (1964): 387-94.

431 Henderson, (1964): 155.

432 Unknown, (1912). "'Khudozhestvennaia zhizn': "Venery" M. Larionova" ["'Artistic Life': The "Venus" of M. Larionov"], *Stolichnaia molva [Capital-City Rumours]*. No. 272, October 29: 5. "V etikh proizvedeniyakh khudozhnik nameren otmenit te kharakternyie cherty, kotorymi kazhdyi narod nadeliaet svoi ideal krasoty". A slightly shorter version of this article appeared four days later: Unknown, (1912). "Among painters: A future target for criticism". *Obozrenie teatrov [Review of Theatres]* No. 1898, November 2: 15-16.

433 Zdanevich, (1913): 30.

Venus archetype played a significant and emblematic role in his work.[434] Interestingly, all the Venuses that Larionov did execute are social outcasts, perhaps a reflection of the frequent treatment of the shaman in society by those who did not understand his craft. Larionov first exhibited paintings from the Venus series, The Jewish, Gypsy and Katsap Venuses, at the *Target Exhibition* of March 1913.[435]

The most significant of these Venus paintings, in terms of its plastic qualities and iconographic depiction, has to be *Gypsy Venus* (1912), (Fig. 44), also known as *Venus and Mikhail*, given the Russian inscription found in the background pictorial space. The work illustrates Venus in a nude, reclining pose conveyed in a pictographic style perhaps reminiscent of the 'primitive' figures portrayed in sacred Buriat drawings, although its style could be considered characteristic of a number of naïve art forms. Her body, eschewing any illusionistic notions of perspective, falls across a white sheet held by a winged figure floating in the upper left-corner of the work. She has the suggestion of wings, found in the ethereal white shapes behind her head, and around her is depicted a pictographic tree, bird, and a table holding a vase with a rose. The painting is characterised by the vibrancy of its colour. Punin delighted in the surprising chromatic harmony which Larionov achieved in his execution of the work:

> "What subtle contrasts hold it together –yellow, brown, white. That is one of the strongest combinations in colour that an artist can ever allow…In this painting though he has greatly heightened them, taken them to a maximum of tension, a tension expressed in a childishly naïve manner, but he has brought it to perfection."[436]

In this comment Punin highlights the naivety of Larionov's work emphasising its inherent 'primitive' qualities, qualities which can be found to have archetypal symbolism. The floating figure is perhaps reminiscent of 'primitive' depictions of the spirit-helpers or shamanic deities found in drawings representing the shamanic cosmology, or it could represent a classical *putto* commonly featured in academic depictions of Venus. In the shamanic phenomenon, although the shaman is the pre-eminent figure, he must enlist the aid of spirit-helpers or deities, which take both anthropomorphic and zoological forms, perhaps as in the winged figure found here. This figure holds the sheet on which Venus lies, pulling it in an upward motion. Larionov's

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[434] In his monograph Zdanevich claims that the 1912 Venus series was originally to have included a Spanish Venus, as well as those in the newspaper list. Zdanevich, (1913). Moreover, Dr Anthony Parton has identified three further paintings; one believed to be a Moldavian Venus, another, a Persian Venus and finally a Soldier's Venus (but one which differs from the sketch Soldier's Venus, which acts as a monograph of Katsap Venus).

[435] S. Warren, (2003). "Spent Gypsies and Fallen Venuses: Mikhail Larionov's Modernist Primitivism". *Oxford Art Journal* Vol. 26, No. 1: 36, Parton, (1993): 50-2; Warren, (2013): 32.

[436] N. Punin, (1927). *An Excursion in the Russian Museum*, 10th December. Original source MSS Dept., Russian Museum, fund 6, item 539, folio 78.

depiction of the sheet appears to be reminiscent of a convention found in Pokrov icons. The Pokrov is the title of an Orthodox festival which celebrates the Virgin as Intercessor, and such icons portrayed the Virgin Mary embodying this role, represented through her illustration with a veil, which signified the protection that she affords and the idea of her enabling the worshipper to penetrate 'beyond the veil.'[437] In several icons the veil is held by angels, (Fig. 45), just as Larionov's *putto* here presents the sheet to his 'primitive' Venus.[438] Consequently, such a representation is significant, for it emphasises the intercessory nature of the Venus figure, highlighting her transcendent qualities, and enables Larionov to invert a Christian tradition to magnify his own purposes, creating a profound archetypal symbol which potentially combines the power of classical, Christian and shamanic imagery.

One of the most frequent spirit-helpers is a bird, for it embodies the ornithological qualities of the shaman himself, as it is symbolic of the element of flight, a fundamental aspect of the shamanic ideological principles, given the necessity of the flight of the soul into the nether realms for the ultimate shamanic telos, cosmic equilibrium. Larionov's 'primitive' pictographic bird found in the right-hand corner of the work could perhaps be such a spirit-helper. This could have psychological implications, for as we have seen, the representation of spirits is evocative of the primitive's ability to outwardly project his inner psychic motives, a capability lost in modern man. Moreover, Larionov's Venus figure is here portrayed with wings, an aspect which could possibly reflect the decorative costume worn by the shaman, often given either actual wings, or feathers and other bird-like characteristics to evoke flight. The costume was worn by the shaman as he embarked on the soul journey to aid his flight into the cosmos.[439] It could of course reflect Venus' Christianised angelic status if we read the 'primitive' figure as a *putto*, and it should be mentioned that birds, particularly white birds, have significance in Christianity. Larionov depicts a 'primitive' tree in the left-hand corner of the work, such a depiction could be reminiscent of illustrations of the shamanic 'world tree', a tree which acted as a metaphorical *axis-mundi* and thus enabled the shaman to traverse the cosmological realms.[440] The *axis mundi*, for Jung, is symbolic of the connection between the subconscious and conscious elements of the psyche. Of course the tree also has significance outside of shamanism and indeed in Christianity suggesting its archetypal status. Larionov's inscription "venera mikhail', (Venus, Mikhail), perhaps exemplifies

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[437] R. Grierson, ed. (1994). *Gates of Mystery: The Art of Holy Russia.* Lutterworth Press, Cambridge: 186.
[438] Similar shamanic spirit-helper figures can perhaps be found in the *Venus (Moldavian Venus)* painting, here the *putti* are depicted with greater clarity and one of them holds a branch-like structure, arguably reminiscent of the shamanic 'world tree'. They also pull the sheet on which Venus lies towards the top of the canvas, again suggestive of her entrance into the flight of the soul and consequently the other cosmological realms.
[439] C.f. Harva, (1922); Mikhailovski, (1895): 81-85; Eliade, (1964): 148, 154.
[440] Eliade, (1964): 259.

the conflation of the artist with the Venus figure, for Mikhail refers to the artist himself. The fact that Larionov embarks on a series of Venuses of multiple ethnicities brings the 'untouchable' Venus figure of classical mythology into the realm of the people, and therefore may enable her to become allegorical to Larionov himself. On the one hand the archetypal artist but on the other a man of confused ethnic identity, being born in Tiraspol, and inhabiting a country whose troubled national identity caused the adoption of a complex 'Eurasian' character.

An examination of Larionov's purpose in the execution of this Venus series can further enlighten us as to the underlying archetypal conceptions of the works. Despite the hails of *Stolichnaia molva's* and Zdanevich's interpretation of the series as an attempt to celebrate ethnic ideals of beauty, as we can see, such an interpretation alone is inadequate to explain the complexity of this series of works. Larionov's Venus series acts as a multifaceted manipulation of the mythologies of ethnicity, sexuality, classicism, and visual representation. Larionov's use of antiquity is of great significance, but it is also important to remember that this antiquity is mediated under the spectrum of modernism. In both *Katsap Venus* (Fig. 46) and *Jewish Venus* (Fig. 47), Larionov depicts a contemporary woman, painted in a 'primitive' modern style, but reclining in a pose reminiscent of the renaissance Venus.[441] The utilisation of such a multifaceted visual language is perhaps Larionov's way of creating an image which would have unconscious implications. In *Katsap Venus*, (Fig. 46), Venus' pose, although reversed, almost directly matches that of Manet's *Olympia*, (1863) and contains multiple references to Manet's social critique. The cat depicted on the back wall in *Katsap Venus* refers to Olympia's black cat, while the Venus figure herself embodies characteristics of Olympia's Afro-Caribbean servant in her headscarf and earrings, and the characteristic flower inserted behind Olympia's ear can be seen in the Katsap Venus' hand.[442] In his adoption of a Venus pose in his work which reflects that of Venus Pandemos, Larionov's work challenges the trend of Western European art to subordinate the visual image of Venus to the impersonal and intangible intellectual conceptions and ideals of beauty formulated by classical culture.[443] As Isarlov states; "But Larionov is also great in that, having discarded the women-Venuses of an elite few, he created the true people's goddess of

[441] Contemporary critics use the titles "Soldier's Venus" and "Katsap Venus" interchangeably to describe both the painting and the lithograph line-drawing. In his monograph of 1913, Ilya Zdanevich labels the drawing "Katsap Venus", although in *Lacerba* the exact same line-drawing is named "Soldier's Venus". In the article "Oslinyi khvost i Mishen", ["The Donkey's Tail and Target"] from the publication *Oslinyi khvost i Mishen*, which accompanied the Target exhibition in 1913, Varsanofii Parkin gives the oil painting the name "Soldier's girl (Venus)". See I. Zdanevich, [E. Eganbyuri], (1915). "Goncharova. Larionov". *Lacerba* Vol. 3, No. 16, 17: 125; Parkin, (1913). "Oslinyi Khvost i Mishen" ["Donkey's Tail and Target"]. *Oslinyi Khvost i Mishen [Donkey's Tail and Target]*. Ts. A. Miunster, Moscow: 62.
[442] Warren, (2003): 37; Warren, (2013): 32, 34.
[443] Parton, (1993): 109.

love."[444] Thus he has perhaps created a collective archetypal image. Interestingly and somewhat ironically Isarlov's praise for Larionov's Venuses matched those characteristics which were considered so vulgar in the critical reception of Manet's Olympia.[445] Describing Katsap Venus:

> "Larionov's Venus is from a brothel, a voluptuous, fat, and sweaty trollop, with crudely painted cheeks and a straggly, coming-apart braid. She lies relaxed, propping her elbows on a pyramid of feather pillows, on a nice, soft bed, befitting this goddess of the popular imagination."[446]

Larionov's evident subversion of the 'elite' conventions of beauty was viewed as an heroic gesture, the Katsap Venus was admired for her 'primitive' simplicity and even corpulence and sweat, in fact it was these qualities that defined her as "*deistvitelno narodnaia*", (truly of the folk/of the people, or truly national/popular).[447] It could be argued that Larionov conflates his Venus figure with the conception of the Jungian 'shamanic' artist, by combining the deific identification of Venus as the goddess of love in classical mythology with a 'truly national' figure, a figure who embodied the qualities of his/her people. In much the same way that the shamanic figure is both regarded as a mystical deity and is the 'truly popular' figure in society. Larionov, who also established heightened perceptual status to the artist, combines these notions in the formation of a complex figure shrouded in mystical symbolism, a figure capable of facilitating psychological healing.

Larionov potentially takes this conception further by imbuing his Katsap Venus with a rarefied status. This Venus is characterised by her voluptuous frame and large hands and feet, which are darker in skin tone than the rest of her body. Given the uniform whiteness which defines the Renaissance Venuses, *Olympia*, and Larionov's *Jewish Venus*, (Fig. 47), Larionov's striking divulgence must have some significance. The Katsap Venus is a prostitute, advocated by the use of the term 'katsap', usually interpreted as a signification of a Ukrainian prostitute 'servicing' Muscovite soldiers, and an agricultural peasant, demonstrated by the natural 'farmer's tan' resultant from work in the fields.[448] Larionov's decision to conflate the figure of a degenerate urban prostitute and a hallowed, pure peasant collapses usually distinctive identities and enables Larionov to exploit both sides of the opposition. Larionov conflates the ethnic qualities taken from Manet's *Olympia* by fusing both the defining characteristics of Olympia herself and those of

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444 G. Isarlov, (1923). "M.F. Larionov". *Zhar-Ptitsa [Firebird]*. Vol. 12. Berlin: 2.
445 Warren, (2003): 37-38; Warren, (2013): 34-35.
446 Isarlov, (1923): 29.
447 The Oxford Russian-English Dictionary cites three definitions for the adjective narodnyi: '1. national . . . 2. folk . . . 3. of the people, popular' (Oxford University Press: New York, 1992): 378; c.f. Warren, (2003): 40.
448 Parton, (1993): 52.

the African servant. Larionov's Venus forms a highly complicated mixture of confused identities and ethnicities, something which could only be achieved in the context of specifically Russian instabilities during this period.[449] In imperial Russia, where a vast number of the population were not ethnically Russian, understanding the history of the 'folk' necessarily required the disclosure and multiplication of the concept of difference itself.[450] Thus Larionov, in his depiction of Venus, created a figure which could be identified as symbolic of the archetypal artist, for it united both the deific status of a mythical goddess with those qualities defined as the embodiment of the Russian 'folk'.

It might be argued that Filonov found the theoretical medium of literature a more appropriate expression of his archetypal mysticism. Perhaps the best manifestation of the archetypal role can be seen in his artistic ideals, especially the concept of 'Analytical Art' and the principle of 'madeness', particularly when taken in the context of the ideas of his contemporary thinkers and associates of the Union of Youth. Analytic Art, as promulgated by Filonov, is neither a theory, technique nor artistic style, but rather a method. It is a deep internal process which takes place within the mind of the artist as he perceives the world and expresses it on the canvas.[451] As he states:

> "Painting is the universally intelligible language of the artist… Art or creativity is an activity resulting from a person's intellectual force…Creativity is the reflection or depiction of phenomena of the external and internal world; it is the realisation of the artist's conception of these phenomena."

The primary conception of the creation of the work of art is the evolution of the thought of the artist, thus the psychological element of art is evident. It anticipates the Jungian conception that by developing the psyche, through the apprehension and assimilation of universal collective archetypes, psychological holism could be achieved. This emphasis on heightened intellectual perception has potential shamanic connotations when considering the views of contemporary thinkers such as Matiushin, whom Filonov most certainly would have come into contact with. For Matiushin argued that through analytically observing physical reality the artist would be able to penetrate, just as the (shamanic) peoples of the ancient worlds, into a new state of existence and thus experience a higher order of reality. To achieve this 'altered-state-of-consciousness' the

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[449] Warren, (2003): 40-41; Warren, (2013): 36, 37.
[450] C.f. R. Kaiser, (1994). *The Geography of Nationalism in Russia and the USSR*. Princeton University Press, Princeton: 55, 64; C.f. Warren, (2003): 52; Warren, (2013): 38.
[451] Milner-Gulland, (1983): 23.

artist must first work persistently so as to hone and perfect his intellectual thoughts.[452] Of course the importance of 'honing' one's intuition is central to many mystical and artistic practises. The experience of transcending one's earthly existence also was prevalent in this period and is in fact a Jungian metaphor, for it was only through the phenomenal conscious ability to apprehend and assimilate unconscious motivations, metaphorically noumenal, that man could begin his quest for psychic holism. It would seem then that Filonov is utilising a vocabulary with which to express the ultimate psychological goal, a reunified consciousness.

Filonov emphasises the importance of this ideal by focusing on rigorous work as he states; "Man develops and perfects himself through study and persistent work"[453], and his encouragement to; "Work persistently on the perimeters of each particular element, on each form, work at the transitions from one particular element to another...work unflinchingly."[454] Filonov's exercise of 'persistent work' results in the principle of 'madeness' or 'craftedness', the highest tenet of Analytical art.[455] "Craftedness is the maximum exertion of inventive creation…Artists are left with the principle of 'absolute exactness' and the 'biological' craftedness of a picture." [456] [457] Hence through relentless hard work on the art-object, the artist could bring to fruition the highest extent of man's greatest qualities – intuition and intellect, the most fundamental facets of the Jungian psyche. Filonov believed that genuine 'madeness' could be realised on a variety of planes but its goal was always the apprehension of all the inherent

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[452] M. Matiushin, (1913a). "O knige Metzanzhe-Gleza 'Du Cubisme'". *Soiuz molodezhi [Union of Youth]*. St Petersburg. March 3: 25-34, for an English translation see Henderson, (1983): 368-375. For Matiushin's later "See-Know" theories see also Henderson, (1983); and Howard, (1992): 27-28; 66; Vladimir Markov [Matevjs] also advocated similar views in his 'Printisipy novogo iskusstva' ['Principles of the New Art'], in which he states that art can be viewed as the manifestation of the 'self', and that it is only through the height of intellectual prowess, envisioned as a 'religious ecstasy', that artists could transcend themselves and their art and thus express genuine 'free creativity'. C.f. V. Markov, [Matevjs], (1912). "Printisipy novogo iskusstva" ["Principles of the New Art"]. *Soiuz molodezhi [Union of Youth]*. II. St Petersburg. In *The Documents of 20th Century Art: The Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism 1902-1934*. 1976, edited by J. Bowlt. Viking Press, New York: 23-39.

[453] P. Filonov, (1923a). "The Basic Tenets of Analytical Art". In *Pavel Filonov: A Hero and his Fate*, (1983), edited by J. Bowlt, & N. Misler. Silvergirl, Inc., Hong Kong: 145.

[454] Bowlt, (1983): 16; V. Anikieva, (1983). "Filonov (1929)". In *Pavel Filonov: A Hero and his Fate*, edited by J. Bowlt, & N. Misler. Silvergirl, Inc., Hong Kong: 60.

[455] In Russian the word is 'sdelannost' which is difficult to translate but is best expressed through 'craftedness' or 'madeness'; c.f. Bowlt, (1983): 15.

[456] When Filonov uses the term 'absolute exactness' he means that the artist should treat all areas of the surface of the canvas equally, and that each section should equate to a 'predicate' of the picture's subject: such 'predicates' are discerned by the artist's intuition and analysis. Filonov metaphorically compared the process of executing a canvas to evolutionary processes in his notion of 'biological craftedness'. By depicting man's intuitive method in a manner allegorical to evolutionary practice, Filonov asserts the supremacy of humanity, particularly mans' potential as a species. Such potential, he believed, was manifest in man's ability to 'make'. Filonov, despite declaring his atheism, underlines his method with religious overtones, an intensity which is founded on the notion that not only the individual, but the species as well, are capable of transcending themselves.

[457] P. Filonov, (1977). "The Ideology of Analytic Art and the Principle of Craftedness". *Leonardo* Vol. 10, No. 3: 227.

qualities of the object found through intense intellectual work and visually expressed on the canvas.[458]

For Filonov, the artist appears to have a Jungian role, for he must develop what Filonov termed a 'knowing eye' to attain the highest visual perception. This when complimented with the visual reception of his so-called 'seeing eye' would synthesise into harmonious vision.[459] Filonov posits a distinction between the lesser 'seeing eye' and the greater 'knowing eye'. He states; "…the 'seeing eye' sees only the surface of things (objects); moreover, it sees only less than one half of the surface (periphery) from a given angle and within its own perimeter."[460] It can only perceive the simplest surface aspects of an object i.e. colour and form. Whilst the 'knowing eye'; "…sees a thing objectively, i.e. the complete and total periphery without any visual angles."[461] The 'knowing eye', on the basis of intuition, perceives the underlying phenomenological processes occurring within the object which facilitates a complete understanding.[462] As Filonov clarifies; "…the 'knowing eye' of the researcher-inventor-master of Analytical Art aspires towards a maximum, exhaustive vision as far as this is humanly possible."[463] It is interesting that Filonov chooses sight as the means to which an altered-state-of-consciousness and subsequent enlightened perception can be achieved, for in several mystical ideologies the eyes are a fundamental organ for understanding the experience of the rituals. Drawn from the ancient Greek connection between knowledge and sight ancient customs frequently demonstrate a powerful symbolic reverence of one's perception through sight.[464] For Filonov the spectator of the work is expected to develop a 'knowing' eye to attain the maximum possible benefit from his viewing of the work.[465] Filonov gave an archetypal teleology to his theory by advocating a healing goal to be achieved in a universal realm. He states:

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458 Milner-Gulland, (1983): 23.
459 C.f. Misler, (2006): 43; D. Goldstein, (1989). "Zabolotskii and Filonov: The Science of Composition". *Slavic Review*, Vol. 48, No. 4: 585, 589; Anikieva, (1983): 53; Bowlt, (1975a): 212.
460 J. Bowlt, (1973a). "A letter from P. Filonov to V. Sholpo 1929". *Studio International* Vol. 186, No. 957: 36.
461 P. Filonov, quoted in Bowlt, (1975a): 212.
462 Bowlt, (1973a): 36.
463 P. Filonov, (1928). "Short Explanation of Our Exhibition of Works". In *Pavel Filonov: A Hero and his Fate*, (1983), edited by J. Bowlt, & N. Misler. Silvergirl, Inc., Hong Kong: 253; The quote continues with a detailed analysis of the extent of the vision of the 'knowing eye' of the 'master-researcher' : "For example, while seeing only the trunk, branches, leaves and flowers of, say, an apple tree, it's possible at the same time to know (or to attempt to know by analysis) how the tendrils of the roots take and absorb the juices of the earth, how these juices flow upwards through the cells of the wood, how they distribute themselves as they respond continuously to light and heat, how they are transformed, distilled and converted into the atomistic structure of the trunk and branches, into green leaves, red and white flowers, green, yellow and pink apples, and the rough bark of the tree. This is what should interest the master and not the external aspect of the apple tree."
464 Indeed the two words are etymologically linked.
465 Buzina, (2006): 52.

> "The first person to benefit from an object of art is its maker. He benefits both from the process of making it and from viewing it when it is finished. The viewer is the second person to benefit."[466]

Filonov's statement suggests the psychologically therapeutic capacities of his new art, which will affect the artist's psychological development and that of the viewer. We see Filonov anticipating the Jungian requirement to develop the psyche so that it can apprehend and assimilate unconscious images, and thus achieve its full potential.

For Filonov the art itself transpires the universal realm with the artists the 'transcenders' of cultural boundaries. He encourages the production of works which would achieve a certain spiritual acclamation, stating:

> "We do not divide the world into two regions –East and West, but stand in the centre of the global life of art, in the centre of a tiny but avant-garde handful of persistent workers, the conquerors of painting and drawing....Make paintings and drawings that are equal to the stone churches of Southeast and West Russia in their superhuman tension of will."[467]

Consequently, "people come to them from all countries of the world to pray".[468] We can see Filonov's aspiration to produce a therapeutic visual language created through the development of the psyche. The artist, as an analytic examiner and visual presenter of the innumerable essential ontological phenomena, was to adopt archetypal mantle and ascend into a realm of heightened perception using a universal language, with the ultimate aim of social and cultural psychic salvation.[469]

Having visually and allegorically embodied the role of archetypal artist, Larionov and Goncharova, it may be argued, began to utilise their bodies as the fundamental medium by which to express their own self-identification with anticipated Jungian ideals. Larionov, through the conflation of classical, mystical and Christian iconography, appears to have established himself as the pioneering archetypal artist, a persona which he seemed to adopt with radical charisma. He became a renowned public figure, a man of scandalous repute and the performer of shocking activities. Such performances began with the scandalous public debates held before exhibitions of his radical *oeuvre*. The most well-known being the break-up of the 'Bubnovyi valet' [Jack of Diamonds] and the subsequent formation of the 'Oslinyi khvost' [Donkey's Tail] at the All-Russian Congress in St Petersburg in 1911-12, where Larionov is reported to have smashed a

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[466] Filonov, (1977): 227.
[467] P. Filonov, (1914). "Made Paintings". In *Pavel Filonov: A Hero and his Fate*, (1983), edited by J. Bowlt, and N. Misler. Silvergirl, Inc., Hong Kong: 135, c.f. Bowlt, (1983): 16.
[468] Filonov, (1914): 135.
[469] Milner-Gulland, (1983): 23.

lectern and been hauled off the stage by the police, consequently being charged 25 roubles for his public disruption.[470]

This culminated in Larionov's appearance on the Kuznetskii Bridge with a painted face in September 1913. This was the first of a multitude of public appearances where Larionov and his group, the *budushchniki* (future people), painted their faces, dressed in bizarre clothes, and paraded about on the streets of Moscow, angling for public attention and disturbing the peace to such an extent that frequently the police were called to intervene, (Fig. 48).[471] "The free-and-easy innovators in the realm of painting have again provided rich food for conversation in Moscow", declared the news-paper *Russkiye vedomosti*:

> "For several days now people in Moscow have been commenting on the strange prank by Larionov and the handful of young individuals who have gathered about him: they appear on the streets with painted faces, with some sort of gaily coloured stars on their cheeks."[472]

Larionov's face-painting brought his radical primitivism onto the streets and became one of his most successful public strategies before the War.[473] Such wild performative activities, largely undertaken to draw public attention towards the artist and his radical *oeuvre*, may perhaps have shamanic undertones. For among the Chukchee the practise of painting their bodies and especially their faces was an ultimately symbolic act, and was frequently done to ward off evil spirits, to signify bravery in the other realms and to harness the ancestors. The designs painted on the shaman's face or body were 'primitive' pictographic designs which held vital symbolism for the shaman in relation to his ideology.[474] For example, in this contemporary photograph of a Chukchee shaman, (Fig. 49), we can see three fertility charms adorning her cheek and a cruciform tattoo on the corner of her mouth which was considered to act as a charm to ward off malign spirits. Moreover, a contemporary pen and ink drawing, (Fig. 50), details the pictographic tattoo of *yugaaq*, the guardian or assistant tattoos of the Chukchee and Yupiget Siberian tribes, often drawn on the face and body to harness ancestral and spiritual powers.[475] Larionov and his

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[470] C.f. Warren, (2013):140-1.
[471] Unknown, (1913). "Vcherashniania progulka futuristov" ["The Futurist's Walk of Yesterday"], *Stolichnaia molva [Capital-City Rumours]*, September 15. No. 327: 4; Unknown, (1913). "Raskrashennyi Larionov" ["Painted Larionov"], *Moskovskaia gazeta [The Moscow Gazette]*, September 9. No. 272: 3; Unknown, (1913). "Raskrashennye moskvichi" ["Painted Muscovites"], *Mokovskaia gazeta [The Moscow Gazette]*, September 15. No. 273: 5 and September 16. No. 274: 5; c.f. Parton, (1993): 67; Warren, (2013): 1.
[472] Unknown, (1913). "Novoe chudachestvo" ["New Form of Eccentricity"], *Russkie vedomosti [Russian Bulletins]*, September 18.
[473] Warren, (2013): 2, 8.
[474] C.f. L. Krutak, (2012). *Magical Tattoos and Scarification: Spiritual Skin, Wisdom, Healing, Shamanic Power, Protection.* Reuss, Munich.
[475] Ibid.

group painted rayist designs on their faces. Rayism, reliant on inter-connecting lines and planes, was particularly symbolic, as it attempted to express the process to a higher reality and thus held transcendental powers. In perhaps the same manner, the shamanic designs, through the power of their inherent symbolism, often aided the shaman in his traversal of the cosmos. Of course it should be noted that face-painting is not peculiar to shamanism and there is no direct evidence from the artists themselves which states that shamanism was their inspiration in this activity.

Most art-historical interpretations of Larionov's face-painting have regarded it to be an act of radical confrontation, a combination of Italian Futurist strategies and common 'hooliganism'.[476] But such an interpretation is limited, for it can be seen that Larionov's provocative and shameless adoption of Italian Futurist agitation has a further significance. It constitutes a continuation of his desire to integrate the 'primitive' into a redefined modern collective identity, and it illustrates the potential Jungian overtones of his *oeuvre*, thus imbuing his primitivism with greater significance, the philanthropic aim of social psychic healing. For Rayism used the conventions of the icon tradition to provide a significant ontological deific status to the picture, and the painting of rayist and abstract designs onto the face attempted to reconstruct the rhetorical command of icons, catapulting this resonance into the public sphere.[477] The artists forcibly brought their Jungian collective archetypes into the spectators' sphere, hounding their consciousness with his visual expression, in an attempt to facilitate psychological healing.

> "To the frenzied city of arc lamps, to the body-spattered streets squeezing the houses, we brought a painted face: the start is given and the course awaits the runners .... We have joined art to life. After the long isolation of artists, we have loudly summoned life and life has invaded art, it is time for art to invade life. The painting of our faces is the beginning of the invasion."[478]

Thus Larionov resolutely declared the social extent of his aims. He wanted to bring his fundamentally spiritual and transformative modern aesthetic, formulated from the archaic values of ancient art, into the realm of the public. He applied it to his face to 'invade' life with his art and accordingly to incite a social psychic revolution.

Larionov viewed his face-painting as an activity far more powerful than the autonomous aesthetic of conventional painting; instead it functioned as a religious ritual, a fundamental part

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[476] J. Neuberger, (1994). "Culture Besieged: Hooliganism and Futurism". In *Culture and Flux: Lower-Class Values, Practises, and Resistance in Late Imperial Russia*, edited by S. Frank and M. Steinberg. Princeton University Press, Princeton: 185-203; J. Sharp, (1999). "The Russian Avant-Garde and Its Audience: Moscow 1913". *Modernism/Modernity*. Vol.6, No.3: 98.

[477] Warren, (2013): 8.

[478] I. Zdanevich, & M. Larionov, (1913). "Pochemu my raskrashivaemsia: Manifest futuristov." ["Why We Paint Ourselves: A Futurist Manifesto"]. *Argus*. In *The Documents of 20th Century Art: The Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism 1902-1934*. 1976, edited by J. Bowlt. Viking Press, New York: 81.

of the fabric of life. It is important to note the connection between Larionov's modern aesthetic and the development of 'zaum' poetry by Kruchenykh and Khlebnikov. As we have seen, Larionov and Khlebnikov were working closely together and given his frequent collaboration with the Futurist poets it is reasonable to argue that Larionov was aware of and influenced by 'zaum' or 'trans-rational' language. Kruchenykh and Khlebnikov in their search to find the origins of language to create an innovative means of expression heightened by spiritual depth, turned to the archaic modes of speech of the glossolalic and mystical sects found largely in the shamanic regions of Siberia. In glossolalia and 'magic' archaic speech they found a means to successfully challenge the conventions of language to create an ultimately innovate expression. If we consider the connection between this ultimately modern yet paradoxically archaic form of language and the ritualistic essence of Larionov's face-painting, the Jungian conceptions underlying Larionov's activities become more apparent. For the ultimate aim of the two innovations is the search for unifying symbolic archetypes which can incite social, psychic healing. Larionov wanted his face-painting performances to have the transcendental ecstatic power that could be found in ancient art and language. By conflating his art with performance, whether on the streets, at public debates or in cabarets, he demonstrated his desire to achieve a genuine manifestation of an authentic Russian identity characterised by its fulfilment of its psychic potential.[479]

The conflation between the ancient and modern, a profound aspect of Larionov's aesthetic, and the vital aim of the unconscious in its attempt to reunify itself with the conscious, formed a fundamental part of the conjoining of 'art and life', and can be identified in Larionov's aims for face-painting. He outlined these aims in the manifesto, "Pochemu my raskrashivaemsia" [Why We Paint Ourselves], published in the magazine *Argus* in 1913:

> "Art is not only a monarch, but also a news-boy and a decorator. We value both the typeface and the news. The synthesis of the decorative and the illustrative is the basis of our face-art. We colour life and preach –that is why we paint ourselves"[480].

Larionov signified his utilisation of the archaic, tribal art of decorating, but demonstrates that he has transformed it within the modern spectrum of contemporary painting. He has amplified the ancient preaching of ones principles through art, through the exploitation of mass media, and attempts to achieve a global psychological healing mission.[481] Although Larionov emphasises the

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[479] C.f. Warren, (2013): 147-8.
[480] Zdanevich & Larionov, (1913): 115.
[481] Warren, (2013): 147-8; Larionov references primitive tattooing in his *Pochemu my raskrashivaemsia [Why We Paint Ourselves]* manifesto. He remarks on its aesthetic beauty, and discusses how he has brought this practise into the

fundamental modernism of his face-painting, its connection to the ancient practise was not missed. One critic on seeing Larionov's vibrant face stated:

> "Larionov…you are wonderful! The drawing on your face is beautiful…I have seen the same drawing on the face of an ancient Maori…the very same beautiful drawing…Long live Larionov! Long live the idiots sitting around him."[482]

It is interesting that Balmont cites the Maori as inspiration for Larionov's designs. In Maori shamanism the tradition of painting one's face is an important aspect of the performative ritual used in initiation ceremonies, and tattoos act as a mark of identity, kinship and tribal affiliation.[483] Larionov implies transcendent overtones in his aims, by declaring that his designs come not from everyday reality but rather they 'appear' from higher realms: "We creators are not concerned with the earth; our lines and colours appeared with us", a significant apprehension of unconscious images.[484] Larionov also incited a revolution in fashion at this time, potentially inspired by shamanic costume design. Men were instructed to braid yellow tassels in their hair and to tuck flowers or other fauna behind their ears, a common custom in Buriat shamanic practice.[485] The practice of braiding hair and decorating the body with flowers, however, is common in other forms of ornamentation and does not necessarily indicate a borrowing from shamanic culture. Overall, it would seem that Larionov became the ultimate archetypal artist by embodying his own art and using himself as the canvas to display and anthropomorphise the ultimate Jungian symbolism of his artistic practise. He transformed himself into the archetypal image and utilised the spiritualism inherent in this act to provide a universalism that might stimulate psychological holism.

Goncharova further took up this mantle, assuming the role of Jung's 'shaman' by using her own body as a medium to exhibit her modernist aesthetic. The aim was to transform herself into a living artefact and transcend the traditional boundaries between the social conventions of 'life' and the creative aestheticism of 'art', so that the macrocosm of her 'life' may be perceived as a 'work of art', and she could utilise herself as the means to facilitate social healing.[486] A notion which anticipated the Jungian conception of transforming oneself into a collective archetype

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modern sphere through the use of his contemporary media, indeed, he declares himself a 'newsman' c.f. Zdanevich & Larionov, (1913): 118; c.f. E. Kovtun, (1998). *Mikhail Larionov: 1881-1964*. Parkstone Press, London: 92.

[482] Unknown, (1913). "V 'Rozovom fonare'" ["In 'Pink Lantern'"]. *Obozrenie teatrov [Review of Theatres],* October 22: 17.

[483] S. Pritchard, (2001). "An Essential Marking: Maori Tattooing and the Properties of Identity". *Theory Culture Society*. 18: 27-45.

[484] Zdanevich & Larionov, (1913): 116.

[485] Unknown, (1913). "'Manifest k muzhine' i 'Manifest k zhenshchine'" ["'Manifesto for a Man' and 'Manifesto for a woman'"], *Stolichnaia molva [Capital-City Rumours]* September 15, No. 327: 4; c.f. Parton, (1993): 71.

[486] J. Bowlt, (1990). "Natalia Goncharova and Futurist Theater", *Art Journal* Vol. 49, No. 1: 44-5.

apprehended to facilitate psychological healing. This desire was most profoundly expressed in her face painting and all-over body painting which was then overtly displayed to the public. Goncharova joined Larionov in a number of such extrovert events but took it further by making a number of public appearances topless with Rayist and abstract designs covering her body, (Fig. 51).[487] The purpose behind the face-painting was more than just social, as the manifesto, "Pochemu my raskrashivaemsia" (1913) demonstrates:

> "…our painting recounts forgotten thoughts. We paint ourselves-because a clean face is repulsive, because we want to herald the mysterious; we are remaking life and we bear bear man's multiple soul to the upper reaches of reality."[488]

This quote highlights the more transcendental, mysterious and 'primitive' aspects of the Russian Futurist's use of the medium. It declares that the face-painting designs are the resonance of forgotten thoughts, and that by wearing them mankind's soul transcends the earthly realm and enters higher cosmological planes. The 'forgotten thoughts' of the manifesto are likely to be subconscious expressions which the unconscious attempts to reassert into the conscious realm to facilitate psychological realignment. Thus the artists' face-painting acts as an anticipation of Jungian psychic motivations. It aims to stimulate psychological healing through the utilisation of archetypal visual vocabulary, a vocabulary which could reunite the elements of the consciousness.

If we look at a contemporary photograph of Goncharova with a painted face, (Fig. 52), we see that the activity had several different vital functions. Firstly, at the out-set it can be regarded as a means by which to parody the conventional fashions of contemporary urban society and subvert the practise of applying make-up, for in contrast to highlighting attractive features, face-painting both obscures the face and renders it unsightly. In addition, it acts as a parody of the Christian depictions of the Virgin Mary, for Goncharova here wears a veil, an employment of Marian imagery to perhaps emphasise her archetypal embodiment of 'Mary as Intercessor'. One can argue that the art of face-painting functioned at a deep level, for not only was it an attempt to shock and assault bourgeois taste, but it also projected the mystical esoteric language of the 'primitive' as a mask, transforming its wearer into an archetypal image and acting as the means by which the artist might reclaim her body and image from the gendered conventions of a patriarchal society through the fusion of Marian and 'primitive' imagery. It was an attempt to deconstruct 'civilised man' and to reveal his latent savagery. For Goncharova it

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[487] Ibid.
[488] Zdanevich & Larionov, (1913): 114-118.

acted as a form of 'war-paint' employed both as the rhetoric of a cultural war against the bourgeoisie and as a 'primitive' status symbol, for often in archaic tribes decorative patterns were worn to insight fear as an evocation of leadership.[489] If we look directly at the designs worn by Goncharova here, we can see that they are reminiscent of the pictographic hieroglyphs utilised by shamans on their drum faces, including symbols such as the ladder, evocative of an *axis mundi*, and the 'zig-zag' line, symbolic of the flight of birds, an ornithological representation of the bird-spirit and by extension the shamanic soul-journey. As we have seen these symbols were not exclusive to shamanism and thus they signified the ability to resemble the Jungian 'archetype of transcendence'. In this image of Burliuk, (Fig. 53), another participator in the 'face-painting' culture, we can see an evident depiction of a bird, perhaps the infamous ornithological spirit ubiquitous in shamanic doctrine? Regardless, as we have seen the symbol of the bird is a fundamental archetypal image. It would appear that Goncharova assumes the role of a Jungian 'shaman', for she utilises her body as the medium for expression, and hence for facilitating entry into higher cosmological realms through her symbolic archetypal iconography. She places this ancient ritualistic means into the modern context so that it can achieve the holistic telos of social psychic healing at the level of contemporary modernity.

It is interesting that although Larionov is regarded as the instigator of the 'face-painting' practise, Goncharova is considered its most successful proponent.[490] As Diaghilev states:

> "Today, this woman has all of St Petersburg and the whole of Moscow at her feet…she painted flowers on her face. And soon the nobility and Bohemia drove out in sledges with horses, houses and elephants drawn and painted on their cheeks, foreheads and necks."[491]

We can see the extent of Goncharova's influence on society, and hence she embodies the archetypal role, the revered leader of her social community and facilitator of social psychic healing, the ultimate Jungian collective archetype.

Overall we can see that the Russian avant-garde embarked upon a mystical journey, which parallels that of the Jungian archetypal neophyte, as they established the aims and conventions of their radical modernism. In their perception of Jung's 'psychic dislocation', they created an ideology and iconography which best expressed Jungian collective archetypes, and

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[489] Parton, (2010): 94, 110-111; C.f. Bowlt, (1990): 44-5.
[490] Parton, (2010): 12.
[491] M. Georges-Michel, (1942). *Peintres et sculpteurs que j'ai connus [Painters and Sculptors I have known]*. Brentano's, New York: 178-9.

provided them with a visual vocabulary with which to facilitate the reunification of the consciousness. The avant-garde transformed themselves into Jung's 'shaman', the quintessential 'archetype of transcendence', through developing their psychic facets. They utilised the inherent symbolism of certain areas of 'primitivism', classicism, and Christiany to create intrinsic psychic healing capacities in their art work. First, several of them, including Kandinsky, Filonov and Malevich, appeared to undergo a form of ecstatic initiation, where they were seemed to exhibit a form of psychological neurosis, until they discovered the curative archetypal properties of their own artistic aesthetic. Such an experience led to the necessity of a didactic process, where the artists took on the role of pedagogic leader and social healer. Subsequently, they began to embody the role of Jung's metaphorical 'shaman', either through their self-identification with a characteristically archetypal figure, such as the Ouspsenskian super-aviator, St George or Venus, or they utilised their own theoretical ideals to literally express the psychic undertones of their artistic mission. Finally, the artists Goncharova and Larionov used their own bodies as the culmination of their self-embodiment of the archetypal figure. Their bodies became the canvas for their ultimately archetypal aesthetic, and their conduct revealed the extent of their new mystical role and its underlying psychic capacities. Having established themselves as Jungian 'shamans' of the avant-garde, these Russian artists were ready to embark upon an ecstatic soul-journey and utilise their art as the means to establish psychic holism.

CHAPTER THREE: SOUL JOURNEY

"The aspiration to other worlds is inherent in man's nature. Man does not want to walk, he demands dancing; he does not want to speak, he demands song; he does not want the earth but strains toward the sky."[492] Thus declared Vladimir Markov, in his *Printsipy novogo iskusstva*, (1912), a statement which suggests the transcendental aspirations of the modern Russian artist. It signified the widely advocated conception in this period that the artist was the inventor of an alternative reality.[493] Having established themselves as Jungian shamanic personas, the avant-garde began to utilise their art to express the experience of the 'altered-state-of-consciousness' or 'soul journey', the fundamental voyage of the shaman across the universe, undertaken to facilitate his ultimate telos, universal healing, a metaphor for the process to a reunified consciousness. The shamanic cosmos comprises of a tripartite arrangement composed of Upper, Middle and Lower realms.[494] Humans and animals inhabit the Middle-realm, earth, while the Upper-world is associated with the sky and the heavens and is inhabited by supreme spirits, and the Lower-world is associated with hell and the underworld. These three regions can be successively traversed by the shaman's soul, for they are typically connected by a central vertical axis, the *axis mundi*.[495] Anthropologists argue that the true nature of the supernatural worlds must be metaphoric, and the ecstatic flight of the shaman an inner voyage into a dimension of experience for which these metaphors stand. The three regions of a shamanic cosmology are not geographical locations, but rather interior states of being symbolised by a geometric allegory. The shaman in reality does not fly upwards or downwards, but inwards to the true meaning of things. Hence the shaman's voyage can be defined as a mystical flight into an internal, mysterious, experiential realm in which space, time, and distance as we understand them, in addition to the distinction between object and subject, amalgamate into a single unity. [496]

This chapter will consider the extent to which the Russian avant-garde were inspired by such mystical phenomena. Jung argues that the 'primitive' cosmology forms part of our "psychic identity" or "mystical participation", it is a way for the psyche to recognise the "colourful" and

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[492] Markov, (1912): 38.
[493] C.f. H. Foster, (2001). "Blinded Insights: On the Modernist Reception of the Art of the Mentally Ill". *October 97*: 3-30; M. Macgregor, (1989). *The Discovery of the Art of the Insane*. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
[494] Ripinsky-Naxon, (1993): 119.
[495] Drury, (1989): 23; Vitebsky, (1995): 34, 46, 50; G. MacLellan, (1999). *Shamanism*. Piatkus, London: 25. 27; P. Vitebsky, (2003). "From Cosmology to Environmentalism: Shamanism as Local Knowledge in a Global Setting". In *Shamanism: A Reader,* edited by G. Harvey. Psychology Press, London: 279.
[496] Ridington, & Ridington, (1970): 51; Ripinsky-Naxon, (1993): 113.

"fantastic" associations of the unconscious. As we have seen, the *axis mundi*, is symbolic of the development of the psyche, and suggests a re-connection beginning between the conscious and the unconscious. That way when fantastical images appear to the 'primitive' man he is not shocked by them, but rather attributes them to a realm of spirits, whereas for the modern man, such occurrences are deeply disturbing and he believes instantly that there is something wrong. Such a rationalised mind-set has led to terrors which are in fact, Jung argues, more dangerous than the primitives' demons.[497] In order to try to prevent these terrors we must realign the shift in our consciousness. One way to achieve this is through the repeated appearance of symbolic archetypes, which the unconscious forces onto the conscious in order to reassert the spiritual significance that has been lost. Among the fundamental archetypes are the 'symbols of transcendence', which act as the means by which the unconscious can access the conscious, and are an active expression of the contents of the unconscious. Jung states that, aside from the obvious experiences of a spiritual yearning expressed in a psychic voyage or pilgrimage, among the array of 'symbols of transcendence' is not only the shaman himself, but also the bird, and that both are symbolic of the psychic power of human intuition. The 'symbols of transcendence' are evocative of what Jung termed "the transcendent function of the psyche", and are the means through which man can achieve the full potential of his individual 'Self'.[498] By referencing the 'soul-journey' in their art, the avant-garde were both reiterating the unconscious desire to access the conscious and express its contents, and were attempting to facilitate the viewer, and by extension society itself, to heal their dislocated consciousness, achieving their full psychic potential. The artists expressed this in three ways. Firstly, they began to visually reference means that are often utilised by shamans and other mystics in order to facilitate the ritual. For example, Kandinsky imbued the fundamental elements of art with inherently transcendental properties. Indeed, the influence of ecstatic language became fundamental to avant-garde practice, along with the direct representation of the most significant artefact of shamanic doctrine, the drum. Next, they began to reference the soul-journey, with artists, such as Larionov and Malevich, underlying their work with transcendental mysticism. Subsequently, having achieved the 'ecstatic state', the avant-garde began to utilise their artistic *oeuvres* to visually express the experience of the cosmic realms. This was achieved through the utilisation of fourth-dimensional and psychological theory, to create works of art which would transcend the phenomenal human realm into the noumenal realms of the spirit. Further, the avant-garde began to utilise syncretic media, such as theatre and ballet, to create a ritualistic experience of transcendence.

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[497] Jung, (1964): 31-2; Henderson, (1964): 152.
[498] Henderson, (1964): 147.

Part 1: Inciting Ecstasy

For Kandinsky a vital property of his art was as a means of transcending this realm, and as a medium to communicate on a deeper spiritual level with his viewer, a shamanic notion, since the shaman upon returning from his transcendent journey must relate it to his spectator, a notion which Jung argued acted as a metaphor for the unconscious access to the conscious and the expression of its content.[499] Kandinsky's belief that the art work was a means of communication and transcendence stemmed from the animistic concept which postulates that everything, dead or alive, is imbued with the spirit.[500] In *Rückblicke* (1913), he recalls how:

> "Everything 'dead' trembled. Everything showed me its face, its innermost being, its secret soul...– not only the stars, moon, woods...but even a cigar butt lying in the ashtray...likewise, every still and every moving point (=line) became for me just as alive and revealed to me its soul."[501]

Furthermore, in *Almanac Der Blaue Reiter* (1912) he states, "The world sounds. It is a cosmos of spiritually effective beings. Even dead matter is living spirit."[502] Jung would postulate that such a conception was actually the psyche's way of projecting and assembling its inner motives in order to both comprehend and assimilate them. Kandinsky would then apply this animistic world view to his art work, in order that both the canvas and the artistic language, i.e. the colours and the forms, would be permeated with the spirit.[503] In this way Kandinsky could imbue his art with unconscious elements, and reassert the forgotten realms of the spirit. In fact, before undertaking his dangerous quest into other realms, it is necessary for the shaman to "animate" or "enliven" his drum.[504] Among the Koryaks the sound of the drum is in itself alive and has the ability to influence the spirits.[505] Kandinsky's concept of an animated canvas is arguably inspired by this. He would later say of an empty canvas that it was:

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499 Bowlt, (1980): 25.

500 Indeed, Drury argues that shamanism is in reality animism in practise, or what he terms 'applied animism'. The natural world is alive with spirits and gods, and because all elements of the cosmos are perceived as an interconnected environment, the universe can be considered to be a living organism, a veritable network of energies with the shaman as an intermediary between the multiple planes of being. C.f. Drury, (1989): 5.

501 Kandinsky, (1913a): 361; this quote is reminiscent of a Chukchee shaman's observation, previously referred to in Chapter 2, referenced in Bogoras "All that exists lives...The small gray bird with the blue breast sings shaman-songs in the hollow of the bough...the woodpecker strikes his drum in the tree...The lamp walks around. The walls of the house have voices of their own." C.f. Bogoras, (1904): Vol. VII: 281.

502 W. Kandinsky, (1912a). "On the Question of Form" in *Almananc Der Blaue Reiter*, edited by W. Kandinsky & F. Marc. Piper, Munich: 173.

503 Weiss, (1995):148; A. Bourneuf, (2011). "Type/Face: Wassily Kandinsky and Walter Benjamin on Language and Perception". Paper presented at The Blue Rider: Centenary Symposium, Tate Modern, London, November 25-26.

504 Weiss, (1987): 203.

505 Weiss, (1995): 156.

> "In appearance: truly empty, keeping silent, indifferent...In reality: filled with tensions, with a thousand low voices, full of expectation."[506]

This suggests that for Kandinsky the canvas itself was also alive and could be cajoled into emanating resonances, even a whole "orchestra" of reverberations; the artist must "animate" it in perhaps the same way that the shaman must animate his drum. Thus the role of the canvas could potentially equate to that of the shamanic drum.[507] In this way Kandinsky reasserts his connection with the archaic spiritual, he brings these instinctive 'primitive' traditions into the threshold of the viewer, and hence begins the process of mending the rift in the consciousness.

One of the key concepts of Kandinsky's artistic ideology is the 'inner need', which is considered a vital aspect of his aesthetic theory.[508] Kandinsky defined the 'inner need' as "the inevitable desire for outward expression of the objective (spiritual) element."[509] An inherently Jungian conception, for it exemplifies the need of the unconscious to 'outwardly' access the conscious and seek its spiritual expression in a unified consciousness. Kandinsky argued that it was the artist's duty to express his 'inner need' in the art work. In an art work this 'inner need' is outwardly expressed through the material form illustrated.[510] "*Form is the outward expression of this inner meaning.*"[511] He states "it is not form (matter) that is generally most important, but content (spirit)."[512]A painting is an artistic expression which, relying on its elaborate composition, forms an intense spiritual experience led by the artist.[513] In this Kandinsky was inspired by Humbert de Superville's psychological theories. Superville argued that painting is "a visual expression of thought," through the use of "shapes and colours rendered in a non-material way." He postulated that painting is "the outward expression of the soul."[514] The notion that art could be a synthesis of both these inner and outer aspects enables the artist to communicate with his viewer. Utilising his pictorial rendering of his own spiritual sentiments he hopes to access the same emotional tone of the spectator through the expressive properties of his work.[515]

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[506] Kandinsky quoted in Exhibition Catalogue Centre Pompidou, (2009). *Kandinsky*. Paris: 8.
[507] Weiss, (1995): 156; Jochelson, (1975): 54.
[508] P. Selz, (1957). "The Aesthetic Theories of Wassily Kandinsky and Their Relationship to the Origin of Non-Objective Painting". *The Art Bulletin*. Vol. 39, No. 2: 132.
[509] Kandinsky, (2006): 68.
[510] J. Ashmore, (1977). "Sound in Kandinsky's Paintings". *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*. Vol. 35, No. 3: 330.
[511] Kandinsky, (2006): 57.
[512] Kandinsky, (1912a): 153.
[513] R. Zimmermann, (2006). "Early Imprints and Influences". In *Kandinsky: The Path to Abstraction,* edited by H. Fischer, & S. Rainbird. Tate Publications, London: 20.
[514] P. Humbert de Superville, (1827). *Essai sur les signes inconditionnels dans l'art [Essay on the Unconditional Signs in Art]*. Translated by L. Ettlinger. Leyde, Paris: 73.
[515] Dabrowski, (1995): 12.

For Kandinsky the most fundamental means of communication and transcendence were the formal elements of painting, form and particularly colour. In *Über das Geistige in der Kunst*, (1912), Kandinsky considers the inter-relations between colour and form, and further, those between music and painting, and discusses the expressive faculties of colours and forms and their combinations. Every colour, he believes, has its specific properties and generates a certain psychological impact. For example, blue is serene and cold, yellow is warm and volatile, green is passive and neutral, and red is hot and passionate.[516] Kandinsky felt that colours had the qualities to transcend mere sight, and thus he speaks about the "scent of colours", and how colours can correspond to sounds.[517] He believed that colour is the medium through which the artist can directly access the soul.[518] Metaphorically, he explained:

> "Colour is the keyboard, the eyes are the hammers, the soul is the piano with many strings. The artist is the hand that plays, touching one key or another, to cause vibrations in the soul."[519]

In this statement Kandinsky underlines the importance of colour as a means of communication and transcendence, and the artist's Jungian 'shamanic' role in creating such an atmosphere in his work. In much the same way, the shaman was responsible for entering his trance, and for communicating his journey to the spectator through ceremonial ritual. It perhaps assigns him the position of psychological healer through the underlying power of his expression, for he has imbued colour with a transcendental capacity, it has the ability to access and express unconscious motivations and therefore to reunify the consciousness.

Kandinsky's understanding of the capacities of forms is similar; he compares yellow to the triangle or an acute angle; red has the properties of a rectangle or a right angle, and blue the circle or obtuse angle. The visual expression of colour and form becomes the primary medium of communication. In this way Kandinsky argued that each colour and form has its own specific content and hence a certain inner necessity –the internal necessity which is independent from the actuality of the external object, and has an impact on a person's emotions even prior to their understanding of it. In *Punkt und Linie zu Fläche [Point and Line to Plane],* (1926), Kandinsky attempted to formulate a grammar of the primary forms and those that derive from them. Beginning with the most basic, the point, the square, the triangle, and continuing with the more complicated geometrical forms, he analysed formal elements in relation to their capacity for

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516 P. Riedl, (1963). *The Masters 28: Kandinsky*. Purnell & Sons, Bristol: 5; Dabrowski, (1995): 19.
517 Kandinsky, (2006): 50-51; S. Ringbom, (1970). *The Sounding Cosmos*: *A Study in the Spiritualism of Kandinsky and the Genesis of Abstract Painting.* Abo Academia, Turku: 92; Selz, (1957): 133.
518 Selz, (1957): 133.
519 Kandinsky, (2006): 52.

communication. Kandinsky first defined a 'point' as a primary component in itself, and a 'line' as an object filled with dynamic tensions; while the horizontal direction creates the notion of "cold" movement, the vertical will generate a "hot" potential.[520] Kandinsky thus details the psychological power of his art, he assigns to both colour and form the capacity to access and express the unconscious and therefore the ability to stimulate psychological holism.

Kandinsky believed that there were strong parallels between art and music. He states:

> "A painter, who finds no satisfaction in mere representation, however artistic, in his longing to express his inner life, cannot but envy the ease with which music...achieves this end. He naturally seeks to apply the methods of music to his own art."[521]

Once again we can see that it is the 'inner life', i.e. the 'unconscious' that Kandinsky is determined to represent. Aside from the rhythmic aspect, Kandinsky related colours to specific musical instruments or sounds. In *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* he states:

> "Keen lemon-yellow hurts the eye…as a prolonged and shrill trumpet-note the ear...A light blue is like a flute, a darker blue a cello; a still darker a thunderous double bass; and the darkest blue of all –an organ... the absolute green is represented by the placid middle notes of a violin.... Red...is a sound of trumpets."[522]

Perhaps most arresting, however, are his comments about black and white:

> "White, therefore has this harmony of silence... like many pauses in music... It is not a dead silence, but one pregnant with possibilities...Black... is represented by one of those profound and final pauses, after which any continuation of the melody seems the dawn of another world."[523]

Considering these statements in the context of Kandinsky's abstraction which swirls with colour and form, the works appear as individual anthropomorphic worlds each resounding with a spiritual cacophony. The creation of such 'other realms' was, according to Jung, the psyche's attempt to project its unconscious motivations in order to apprehend and assimilate them, an ability that modern man in his rationalism had lost, but which Kandinsky attempts to recreate here through the psychological power of his expression.

Kandinsky was influenced by Schoenberg's *Theory of Harmony* 1911 and his innovative musical theories whereby he abandoned chromaticism and discarded the conventional concepts

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[520] Riedl, (1963): 50.
[521] Kandinsky, (2006): 41.
[522] Ibid: 49, 76-77, 79.
[523] Ibid: 77-78.

surrounding tone and harmony.[524] After Kandinsky saw Schoenberg in concert in 1911 he wrote to the composer:

> "In your works, you have realised what I... have so greatly longed for in music. The independent progress through their own destinies, the independent life of the individual voices in your compositions, is exactly what I am trying to find in my paintings."[525]

A deep correspondence grew between the two artists as the similarities in their artistic ideologies became apparent.[526] Schoenberg's innovations revolutionised traditional musical principles by initiating a free use of chromatic scale and atonality, as a new expressive means of composition.[527] His most controversial invention was the 'emancipation of the dissonance', the principle that there is no difference between consonance and dissonance, but that dissonances represent further removed consonances.[528] Both artists felt an unyielding need to move towards the unknown.[529] What Jung would later define as 'the expression of the unconscious.' Schoenberg wanted to 'emancipate dissonances' in his musical harmony, likewise Kandinsky's harmony was based on clashing discords, loss of equilibrium, 'principles' over-thrown, and opposites and contradictions.[530] Schoenberg's atonal music reflects the concept of a permanently expanding universe, which Kandinsky sought to reference in his art.[531] Through metaphorically evoking Schoenberg's music in his art Kandinsky was able to create art works which perhaps embodied unconscious expression.

This notion is further enhanced by the argument that Kandinsky had the condition synaesthesia.[532] According to the principle of synaesthesia, one form of sensory perception may manifest itself as the sensory experience of another; for example, a person may see colour on hearing certain sounds.[533] As Kandinsky states: "Do not make the mistake of thinking that you

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[524] Dabrowski, (1995): 19-20; on the relationship between Kandinsky and Schönberg, see P. Vergo, (1980): "Music and Abstract Painting: Kandinsky, Goethe and Schönberg". In *Towards a New Art: Essays on the Background to Abstract Art 1910-20*. Tate Publications, London: 41-63.
[525] J. Hahl-Koch, ed., (1984). *Arnold Schoenberg-Wassily Kandinsky: Letters, Pictures and Documents.* Translated by J. Crawford. Faber & Faber, London: 21.
[526] Cf. Hahl-Koch, (1984).
[527] M. Dabrowski, (2003). "Kandinsky and Schoenberg: Abstraction as a Visual Metaphor of Emancipated Dissonance". In *Schoenberg, Kandinsky, and the Blue Rider.* Edited by E. Costa-Meyer & F. Wasserman. Jewish Museum Publications, New York: 81.
[528] A. Schoenberg, (1911). "Composition with Twelve Tones (1)". In *Style and Idea: Selected Writings of Arnold Schoenberg.* 1975, edited by L. Stein, and translated by L. Black. University of California, Oakland: 216-217.
[529] H. Wood, (1985). "Review: Artistic Correspondence". *The Musical Times*. Vol. 126, No. 1704. Handel Tercentenary Issue: 94.
[530] Dabrowski, (2003):193.
[531] B. Galeyev, (2003). "Evolution of Gravitational Synesthesia in Music: To Color and Light!" *Leonardo*, Vol. 36, No. 2: 131.
[532] Synaesthesia comes from the Greek 'syn'–together and 'aesthesis'–perception, P. Hertz, (1999). "Synesthetic Art: An Imaginary Number?" *Leonardo*. Vol. 32, No. 5. Seventh New York Digital Salon: 400.
[533] J. Strick, (2005). "Visual Music". In *Visual Music: Synaesthesia in Art & Music since 1900,* edited by K. Boucher, J. Strick, A. Wiseman & J. Zilczer. Thames & Hudson, London: 15.

"receive" painting only through your eyes. No, you receive it... through your five senses."[534] This synaesthetic notion would enhance the transcendental experience of Kandinsky's paintings, for in using art to evoke a multi-sensory experience Kandinsky parallels the hyperstimulation of many mystical, including shamanic, ceremonies which attempt to arouse the sense of transcending the material realm.

It is not merely the basic pictorial elements, i.e. colour and form, of Kandinsky's art works which have Jungian overtones, but also his way of expressing his artistic language through the 'veiling and stripping' of imagery.[535] Kandinsky may have been inspired by the Russian Symbolist philosopher-cum-poet, and his contemporary, Vyacheslav Ivanov.[536] In his article *Two Elements in Contemporary Symbolism*, originally published in the Russian periodical *Zolotoe runo* in both April and May of 1908, Ivanov postulates that the symbol as a tool is 'polyvalent'.[537]

> "Like a ray of sun, the symbol penetrates all levels of being and all spheres of consciousness, and represents different entities at each level, performs a different function in every sphere."[538]

In this statement we can see an anticipation of Jung's 'collective archetypes'. Such a symbolic notion would have been deeply attractive to Kandinsky for in this interpretation the symbol can act as a vital tool for communication and as a means of transcendence. Kandinsky may have been using symbols, based on his knowledge of Ivanov, as metaphorical 'power objects' which in mystical rituals act as a 'gateway' to the other realms. Kandinsky appears to have perceived what Jung would later define as 'psychic dislocation', and he utilises symbolic tools as a means to facilitate psychological healing.

Ivanov argued that all symbols, which evidently reveal the eternal truth that is inherent in the realities for which they stand, are in some way intrinsically public.[539] Every possible meaning of a specific symbol is conjoined to form a "great cosmogonic myth, in which every

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534 W. Kandinsky, (1938). "Concrete Art". In *Kandinsky Complete Writings on Art,* (1982), edited by K. Lindsay & P. Vergo. Boston: 816.
535 Rose-Carol Washton-Long uses this term; C.f. R. Washton-Long, (1972). "Kandinsky and Abstraction: The Role of the Hidden Image". *Artforum*: 42-49.
536 Indeed, in the same issue of the Russian periodical *Apollon*, in which a note by Kandinsky appeared in 1910, Ivanov suggested that the artist look to myth and folk art as a means of creating a work of art that was both cosmic and understandable. See V. Ivanov, (1910). "Zavety simvolizma" ["Covenants of Symbolism"]. *Apollon*, No. 8: 5-20; Kandinsky's "Pismo iz Miunkhena" ["Letter from Munich"], appeared on pp. 4-7 of the same issue. Literary figures in Munich such as Karl Wolfskehl, whom Kandinsky knew, were also interested in folk poetry and myth.
537 J. West, (1970). *Russian Symbolism: A Study of Vyacheslav Ivanov and the Russian Symbolist Aesthetic*. Methuen Young Books, London: 50.
538 Cf. V. Ivanov, (1908). "Dva elementa v sovremennoi simvolizma" ["Two Elements in Contemporary Symbolism"]. *Zolotoe runo [The Golden Fleece]:* 247.
539 West, (1970): 55.

aspect...finds its place in the hierarchy of levels of the divine unity."[540] This concept anticipates Jung's collective unconscious archetypes, and the metaphorical expression of psychological holism, a state which Kandinsky evidently is seeking in his aim of a universal artistic language, which could resonate within the viewer, and enable him to transcend this degraded materialistic world. Ivanov continues that when a realist symbolist calls a collection of symbols a myth, he is affirming their absolute public validity, for myth has passed through time as a concept that is at least conceivably absolute and thus common to everyone.[541] This takes on further significance when one considers the archaic function of a myth, which acts as a means of enabling the individual to gain a sense of the numen in connection with our human existence, aiding the person's capacity to understand their place within the universe, and acts as a form expressing knowledge of the relationships between the cultural, natural and psychological dimensions of reality.[542] Kandinsky, acting as a symbolist, utilises his symbols to create a unified *Gesamtkunstwerk* which resounds with universal ideals and is an appropriate means to convey the coming utopian epoch. Indeed, by assigning such psychological power to the medium of art, as a means to access and express the inner spiritual soul, through a commanding archetypal painterly language, Kandinsky appears to anticipate Jung's notion of psychological healing achieved through the power of spiritual unconscious reassertion.

Composition II, (1910), (Fig. 30), is an example of how Kandinsky can facilitate transcendence through his own symbolic expression. Although the canvas itself was destroyed during World War II something of its representation can be gleaned from a final study, *Sketch for Composition II* (1909-10), (Fig. 54), which is half the size of the original painting, and a group of related studies including the watercolour *Study for Composition II (Two Riders and Reclining Figure),* (c. 1910), (Fig. 55), an oil *Study for Section of Composition II* (1910), (Fig. 56), and various pencil and ink sketches, that help us to gain a greater understanding, although an ambiguous one, of the formation and subsequent development of the now destroyed canvas.[543] When viewing this work in the light of Kandinsky's new medium of expression through veiled abstraction, one can allow the meaning behind the swirl of intricate pictorial forms and concealed iconographic motifs to gradually unfold. Although the coherence of the subject matter can be read from the numerous perceptible clues the artist gives us, the viewer's response to the work is not dependent on the recognition of representational objects but rather on their emotional reaction to the arrangement

[540] Cf. Ivanov, (1908): 248.
[541] West, (1970): 55, 56.
[542] Ridington, & Ridington, (1970): 49.
[543] Dabrowski, (1995): 26.

of the colours and forms themselves.[544] Thus Kandinsky attempts to stimulate a positive psychological response. This work is usually considered to be a pictorial representation of the apocalyptic deluge. However, Weiss argues that this conception seems to cover only one aspect of this densely symbolic work, whose motifs can be understood better in the context of the artist's ethnographic background.[545] She argues that the virulent green figure lying horizontally in the foreground is likely to be Vasa, the Zyrian water-spirit, frequently believed to wear a bright green robe, who was thought to cause mighty storms by hurling himself into deep waters.[546] Vasa often was accountable for the drowning of unsuspecting fishermen or bathers, something which Weiss postulates Kandinsky has referenced here with his depiction of wave-threatened figures in the lower left hand corner.[547] She continues that the pale green figure to the right of Vasa may perhaps be another water-monster, typified by his bright red eyes, a characteristic feature of this demon. Such water-spirits were sometimes believed to steal horses that grazed too near the water's edge. Here two figures are depicted on horseback just above Vasa's head.[548] It could of course be argued that Weiss has read too much into these figures since there is no specific indication that they are demons other than that they are green, however, her reading adds to the potential psychological symbolism in the work.

Following this, Weiss argues that Kandinsky's figures on horseback appear to have shamanic powers, as they seem to ascend a 'world tree', an *axis mundi*, represented as a white form rising in the centre of the work. As we have seen, the shamanic *axis mundi* formed a visual expression of the unconscious' means of accessing the conscious. The occurrence of a recumbent figure in conjunction with horsemen floating upwards perhaps has further shamanic connotations, for Weiss suggests that it refers to the shaman in an ecstatic trance, his spirit-helpers heaven-bound.[549] Buriat shamans utilised a 'horse-stick' upon which they 'rode' to the other realms, something which Weiss argues Kandinsky metaphorically represents in his

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[544] Ibid.

[545] Weiss, (1987): 205; for apocalyptic interpretation see K. Brisch, (1955). "Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944): Untersuchungen zur Entstehung der gegenstandslosen Malerei an seinem Werk von 1900-1921" ["Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944): Studies On The Formation Of Non-Objective Painting In His Work From 1900-1921"], typescript from PhD Thesis. University of Bonn: 233-34; Washton-Long argues that the two sides as incorporation destruction and salvation, the two forces identified in the Revelation to St John cf. Washton-Long, (1980a): 110-112.

[546] On Vasa (Russian, vodianoi) see Holmberg, (1927): 197-8; U. Holmberg, (1913). *Die Wassergottheiten der finnisch-ugrischen Völker [The water deities of Finno-Ugric Folklore]*. Société Finno-Ougrienne, Helsinki: 96-107, citing not only Kandinsky but other sources such as Popov which Kandinsky himself knew and had cited.

[547] C.f. I. Paulson, (1965). "Outline of Permian Folk Religion". *Journal of the Folklore Institute*. Vol. 2, No. 2: 168-9.

[548] Weiss, (1995): 52-54.

[549] Ibid. See Iovleva (1988), no. 16, The Miracle of St Florus and St Laurus, cf. Ivanitskii (1892): 182-5. The fusion of the motif of the probe figure "in trance" with a rider on horseback Weiss argues is also found in Kandinsky's *Improvisation 9* (1910).

depiction of physical horseman ascending the cosmic tree. The sense of upwards motion of these horsemen can be further ascertained from a pen-and-ink sketch, where arrows designate the direction of their movement. However, Barnett suggests that the drawing might have been executed after the finished work was completed. Nevertheless, a watercolour study of the lower central section more clearly depicts two horsemen moving upward.[550] Ubiquitous in accounts of shamanic soul-journeys is the occurrence of a struggle, could Kandinsky here be referencing a battle between a shaman and an evil spirit or even between a 'good' and 'evil' shaman? For it would seem that struggle is being alluded to.[551] Of course it is important to bear in mind that Kandinsky himself never explicitly stated that these figures are shamans they could just be horsemen, a common motif of Kandinsky's work, but Weiss' reading adds to the Jungian nature of the painting, and as we have seen Kandinsky seems to assign an archetypal status to his horseman motif. Weiss continues that Kandinsky's illustration of an old man lying prone in front of a willow-like tree in the upper right-hand corner of the work is possibly referring to the pagan custom of burying a shaman in a hallowed grove. She backs this with the notion that on shaman's death a mighty storm would rage which Kandinsky suggests with his thunderous, darkening skies.[552] Again an imaginative reading but one which might appeal to the dislocated psyche. Between Weiss' burial motif and the central pillar looms a mighty threatening brown figure. Kandinsky himself had described Vörsa, the Zyrian forest-spirit, with great excitement in his Vologdan travel diary "A devil and a demon...It live[s] in water and forest...It's as big as a tree and brown-black." In *Composition II*, (Fig. 30), the menacing umber forest-spirit is perhaps depicted towering above an apparently oblivious kneeling figure.[553]

To the left of the pillar a bright yellow figure stands arms out-flung in a dark-coloured boat. Weiss postulates that in the context of Vasa's mighty storm, it is likely that this figure represents the Golden Prince or Yanukh –Tõrem, the son of Numi-Tõrem, the chief god of the Khanty (Ostiak) and the Voguls, who had power over the whole of nature.[554] Yanukh –Tõrem was believed to take the shape of a man, and "from the splendour of his raiment he shines like gold", hence his other name, Golden Prince. The Voguls also called him the World-Watching-Man, as it was he, who in a Christ-like manner, acted as a mediator on earth between mortal man

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[550] Dabrowski, (1995): 28.
[551] Dabrowski states that the horsemen are not necessarily engaged in conflict, cf. Dabrowski, (1995): 28.
[552] See Paulson, (1964): 223.
[553] Weiss, (1995): 52-54; see Kandinsky, (1889a): 79; Popov, (1874) cited by Kandinsky in Kandinsky, (1889b): 102-110.
[554] On the various names and roles of the gods of the Voguls see N. Gondatti, (1888). "Sledy iazcheskikh verovanii u Manzov" ["Traces of Paganism among the Mansi"]. *Izvestiia Imperatorskago Obshchestva Liubitelei Estestvoznaniia, Antropologii i Etnografii [Proceedings of the Imperial Society of Naturalists, Anthropology Ethnography]*. Vol. 48, No.2: 51, 55-68.

and the highest god particularly relating to uncontrollable weather conditions. Although usually illustrated on horseback, World-Watching-Man was also believed to descend to the earth in a boat accompanied by rowers, as Kandinsky potentially depicts him here.[555] This World-Watching-Man/Golden Prince motif of a hero and mediator astride a white horse, would later in Russian lore, assume the identity of Egori the Brave, who would subsequently be used interchangeably with St George, and would thus symbolise a quintessential archetypal motif.[556] The painting is dominated by contrasts, setting apparent tranquillity, typified by the reclining couple on the right, against threatening danger, seen in the suggested water-demons and the violent storm. This coupled with the opposing juxtaposition of potential pagan and Christian symbols creates an atmosphere of disconcerting tension.[557] It would appear that in *Composition II* Kandinsky utilises his own artistic language to facilitate transcendence. Given the intrinsically psychological properties which Kandinsky assigned to the fundamental plastic qualities of his art, as an anticipation of the Jungian need to facilitate unconscious access to the conscious level of the psyche, we can see Kandinsky utilising archetypal symbolism as a means to visually express Jungian collective archetypes, and this, combined with his psychologically transcendent colours and forms, he hoped would stimulate a positive psychological effect on the viewer.

Similarly, Larionov, having taken up a pre-figured Jungian mantle, began to utilise his art to anticipate and actualise the transcendence required for psychic reunification. Parton argues that Larionov utilises shamanic iconography in acheieving this aim.[558] If this is true then it will help to demonstrate Larionov's use of transcendent archetypes in his artistic language, for as we have seen, the shaman is Jung's quintessential 'archetype of transcendence'. Initially, the shaman must summon his spirit-helpers, usually taking zoomorphic forms, such as birds, by sounding a drum, with rhythmic repetitive beats. Subsequently, he will fall into an ecstatic trance-like state and begin to chant in an incomprehensible language, and/or he will imitate the animal spirits whose help he has enlisted in the undertaking of the soul-journey. This signifies his ability to transform himself into a non-human embodiment and anticipates the process of his traversing the cosmological realms. Such a practise is found most commonly among the Siberian tribes, including the Chukchee, Teleuts, and Ainu.[559] As Castagné vividly describes, the shaman:

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[555] C.f. K. Karjalainen, (1922). "Die Religion der Jugra-Völker" ["The religion of the Ugra-peoples"]. *Folklore Fellows Communications*, Vol. 7, No. 2: 186-194.
[556] Weiss, (1995): 55; See Gondatti, (1888): 68-70.
[557] Weiss, (1995): 55; Dabrowski, (1995): 28 acknowledges the plausibility of Weiss' ethnographic and shamanic associations in the work.
[558] Parton, (1993): 104.
[559] Eliade (1964): 99-102; Lehtisalo, (1936-7): 23-24; G. Tschubinow, (1914). *Beiträge zum psychologischen Verständnis des sibirischen Zauberers [Contributions to the Psychological Understanding of the Siberian Magician]*. Breitkopf & Härtel, Liepzig:

> "…barks like a dog, sniffs at the audience, lows like an ox, bellows, cries, bleats like a lamb, grunts like a pig, whinnies, coos, imitating with remarkable accuracy the cries of animals, the songs of birds, the sound of their flight, and so on."[560]

In this manner, according to Jung, the shaman transforms himself into a 'transcendent archetype'. Parton argues that several of Larionov's drawings seem to portray this sense of shamanic entry into ecstatic ritual. For example, in an illustration found in *Mir s konsta [World Backwards],* (Fig. 57), Larionov represents a detail of a figure's head as he intones the apparently meaningless "Ozz". When looking closely at the man's eyes one can see that they are vacant, which Parton states implies that he has fallen into a trance. Thus a transcendent image, but it could be argued that the figure is sleeping or yawning with the "Ozz" intoned evocative of a yawn or snore. Parton continues that the figure is depicted with a small wing extending from his shoulder and his lower-jaw is protracted, suggesting that the figure is at the entry point of the trance; he is in a metamorphic state.[561] However, the 'wing' is perhaps closer to a leaf and therefore this reading should be treated with caution. If we accept Paton's interpretation then we could argue that Larionov may well have known of the metamorphic experience from his reading about Khubligan, the tutelary spirit of the Buriat shamans, in Khangalov's study of shamanism amongst the Buriat peoples which he possessed in his library.[562] The name 'Khubligan' literally translates as 'Metamorphosis'. At this time, a wide range of literature had been published in Russian on the experience of the shamanic trance, in particular the shaman's imitation and symbolic transformation of his soul into an animal or bird form.[563] For Jung this practise symbolised the 'primitive' man transforming himself into an archetypal image to apprehend and assimilate his inner motivations. Larionov, we could perhaps suggest, attempts to communicate this concept to the viewer in order to develop their psychic faculties.

If we take Parton's reading that the small shape behind the figure's head is a 'wing', or perhaps more likely a feather, and that it suggests the attempted incarnation of a bird-spirit the image would have interesting shamanic connotations, for the bird-spirit is the most frequently invoked spirit in shamanic ecstasy. By incarnating the bird-spirit the shaman fulfilled its most symbolic characteristic, the ability to fly and traverse the cosmological realms.[564] The bird had a

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55); c.f. C. May, (1956). "A Survey of Glossolalia and Related Phenomena in Non-Christian Religions". *American Anthropologist*. Vol. 58, No. 1: 81-2; E. Miller, (1975). "Shamans, Power Symbols, and Change in Argentine Toba Culture." *American Ethnologist*. Vol. 2, No. 3: 492.

[560] Castagné quoted in Eliade, (1964): 97.

[561] Parton, (1993): 104

[562] See note 26 above.

[563] Eliade, (1964): 94; c.f. Parton, (1993): 104; source material which Larionov had access to included: Bogoras, (1904): 442; B. Pilsudski, (1909). "Der Schamanismus bei den Ainu-Stämmen von Sachalin" ["Shamanism among the Ainu tribes of Sakhalin"]. *Globus*. Vol. 15: 261-274. & Vol. 16: 117-132; Mikhailovskii, (1895): 98.

[564] Czaplicka, (1914): 235.

complex role in Siberian shamanic doctrine, for it was a tutelary spirit, and was believed to incarnate a transmigrated soul, an ancestor spirit, or a pre-nascent soul.[565] As we have seen, the bird is a paradigmatic example of Jung's 'archetypes of transcendence', and this connection to an ancestral spirit implies the unconscious' assertion of archaic spiritualism and primal instincts. However, Parton's interpretation is speculative given that the 'wing' could be a leaf and that the artist himself never explicitly stated that shamanism inspired the image.

Nevertheless, ornithological symbolism was also reflected in the poetry of Khlebnikov, with whom Larionov collaborated frequently during this period.[566] In Khlebnikov's poem *Ka*, (1915), the main protagonist, an archaic Egyptian spirit, is described as possessing 'bird-like' qualities. Khlebnikov's poem was based on the ancient Egyptian mythology about the fragmented human soul in death. A conception found also in several mystical societies, which believed that on death or in the initiation process of the neophyte, the soul was fragmented and then reborn, an experience reminiscent of Jung's 'archetype of initiation'. A reference is made to this in the title of the work containing Larionov's illustration, *Mir s konsta*, or *World Backwards*. This title is perhaps evocative of the ancient shamanic doctrine which conceives the world after death as running in reverse, for example, according to the Buriats, in the 'other world' rivers run backwards towards their sources.[567] Khlebnikov's Ka reflected the deceased soul, the Akh, the 'blessed-spirit' of the nether world, and the Ba, the soul, conceived in the form of a bird, which could traverse the cosmological realms. It could thus potentially be argued that Larionov has imbued this image with a rich universal significance, drawing from a variety of ancient and 'primitive' myths, and heightening the symbolism of his figure.[568]

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[565] To understand the extensive role birds play in shamanic ideology, c.f. Eliade, (1964); Czaplicka, (1914); M. Balzer, (1996). "Flights of the Sacred: Symbolism and Theory in Siberian Shamanism". *American Anthropologist, New Series*. Vol. 98, No. 2: 306. Interestingly, the notion that the bird can incarnate the soul of man also is found in other ideologies besides shamanism, for example, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, consider the Alcyone myth: where King Ceyx, Alcyone's husband, miraculously morphs into a bird on his death. (C.f. Ovid, (1999). *Metamorphoses* IX-XII. Edited and translated by D. Hill. Aris & Phillips, Warminster: Book XI: 710-48). Indeed, three of Larionov's personal *lubki* depicted images based on Ovid's legend and were exhibited in his *Vystavka ikonopisnykh podlinnikov i lubkov [Exhibition of Icon-paintings and Lubki]*, using the title: *The Bird of Alcyone* (C.f. Vystavka ikonopisnykh podlinnikov i lubkov. 1913. Nos. 149, 190, 238) furthering the suggestion that Larionov imbued his Neo-primitive birds with such symbolism.

[566] Khlebnikov was regarded an ornithologist by the Russian avant-garde during this period. Further in 1911 he published the paper "Ornithological Observations at the Pavdinsky Foundry". C.f Khlebnikov, (1976): 267-8, following an exhibition to the Urals for bird observation undertaken with his brother in 1905.

[567] Parton, (1993): 104.

[568] Ibid: 106.

Moreover, shamans in ritualistic ceremonies often wore ornate costumes littered with ornithological allusions and emblems which were thought to incarnate spirits. Shashkov describes the crucial nature of this symbolism:

> "Feathers are mentioned almost everywhere in the descriptions of shamanic costumes. More significantly, the very structure of the costume seeks to imitate as faithfully as possible the shape of a bird…The Mongol shaman has 'wings' on his shoulders and feels that he is changed into a bird as soon as he dons his costume."[569]

Such ornithological symbolism was fundamental for it signified the shaman's mystical flight across the cosmological realms.[570] If we argue that the object depicted above the head of Larionov's figure is a feather, it could perhaps be suggested that he is reflecting the feathers prominent on shamanic costume given the figure's potential trance-like state. If we follow Parton's interpretation that the object signifies a wing extending from the figure's shoulder, then it could perhaps refer to the costume of a Mongol shaman, for Khlebnikov's poem, *Shaman i Venera*, (1911), describes an encounter with a Mongol shaman, and we know that Larionov contributed to *Sadok Sudei II* in which the poem was published.[571] However, all of this is open to debate and the sceptical among us would argue that by following this interpretation too much has been read into a simple schematised drawing. Nevertheless, it seems possible that Larionov appears to visually express Jungian collective archetypes and hence to utilise his art for psychological healing.

The word "Ozz" in the drawing is an evident example of the influence of the innovative Futurist poets on his work. In fact, Anton Lotov's poem, *Ulichnaia melodiia [Street Melody]* is introduced with the same sound: "Oz z z zzzz…"[572] In 1912-14 the Russian avant-garde engaged in a prolonged collaboration with the main protagonists of Futurist poetry, Kruchenykh and Khlebnikov.[573] In the manifesto *Slovo kak takovoe [The Word As Such],* (1913), the poets redefined language and its underlying meaning, on the basis of their innovative alogical *zaum* or 'trans-sense realism'. In this venture Kruchenykh and Khlebnikov attempted to dissemble the traditional signifying strictures of speech by uncoupling the word from its associated meaning so as to render its expressive content as pure sound. In excavating the expressive qualities of pure sound, the primal verbal material upon which language is built, they attempted to create a

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569 Shashkov quoted in Eliade, (1964): 155-7.
570 Ibid: 98-99, 219.
571 Parton, (1993): 106.
572 Quoted in S. Khudakov, (1913). "Literatura khudozhestvennaia kritika disputi i doklady" ["The Dispute Reports of Literature and Art Critics"]. *Oslinyi khvost i mishen [Donkey's Tail and Target]*. Ts. A. Miunster, Moscow: 140. Khudakov is most probably a pseudonym for I. Zdanevich.
573 Gray, (1962): 65, 108.

universal language which they described as 'the language of the stars'. This language would be liberated from linguistic constraints and could be utilised for its 'artistic' rather than 'grammatical' objective.[574]

Khlebnikov distinguished between the 'apparent' reality of the conventional meaning of words and the infinitely richer 'true' reality which lies behind the word itself. He states:

> "The word can be divided into the pure word and the everyday word. One can think of the word as concealing within itself both the reason of the starlit night and the reason of the sunlit day. This is because any single everyday meaning of a word also obscures from view all the word's remaining meanings, just as the daytime brings with it the disappearance of all the shining bodies in the starlit night."[575]

By freeing the word from its conventional linguistic regulations Khlebnikov revealed the underlying meaning of the word which is obscured by its usual understanding. In this manner he hoped to utilise his *zaum* conventions to access higher realms of consciousness. He appears to anticipate Jung's need to facilitate unconscious access to our conscious by searching for the inner and hence unconscious meaning of words. Consequently, Khlebnikov ascribed a transcendental power to his trans-rational language so that it might break the bounds of 'everyday meaning' defined by conventional logic and enter the realms of the fourth dimension.[576] As we have seen, the fourth dimension appears to be allegorical for Jung's outward projection of the unconscious. In identifying his trans-rational language as the 'language of the stars', Khlebnikov implied a transformation of language beyond the capacities of phenomenal reasoning into a cosmological and noumenal state of consciousness.[577] In fact cosmological imagery and associations litter the writings of Khlebnikov, heightening the conception that accessing the cosmic dimension through word 'constellations' is a necessity for attaining universal truths. Indeed, he became known as a 'poet-astrologer'. Such a cosmological dimension emphasised the profound importance of his work and further man's striving to attain heightened 'cosmic' intuition.[578]

The apparent modernity of Kruchenykh's and Khlebnikov's vision was, paradoxically, rooted in the ancient primal and ultimately mystical function of language, an attempt perhaps to express the instinctive and the fundamentally spiritual language of the unconscious. In *Slovo kak takovoe* they state: "We really believe that language must above all be language and if it should

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574 Stupples, (2001): 17.
575 V. Khlebnikov, (1919a). "Nasha osnova" ["Our Foundation"]. In *Sobranie sochinenii [Collected Works]*, (1968). Vol. 3. W. Fink Verlag, Munich: 235; I. Gutkin, (1997). "The Magic of Words". In *The Occult in Russian and Soviet Culture*, edited by B. Glatzer Rosenthal. Cornell University Press, New York: 225-24 236.
576 Humphreys, (1989): 160.
577 Ibid: 162-3.
578 Ibid: 158-9.

remind you of anything then it would most probably be a saw or the poisoned arrow of a savage."[579] Livshits explained how the 'new' language; "…awakened the word's dormant meanings and the birth of new ones…exploding the linguistic strata of millennia and plunging fearlessly into the depths of the primal word."[580] Such a statement anticipated Jung's idea that the language of the unconscious would be that archaic spiritual language which had been lost in the primal age. Khlebnikov and Kruchenykh cited 'primitive' incantations, mystical glossolalia and pagan 'magic-speech' as their inspiration.[581] In fact, the glossolalia of the Khlysts, a Russian mystical sect founded in the eighteenth century and considered among the original dissenters of Russian history and speakers of 'the holy word', was paramount to the formation of *zaum*.[582] In *Vzorval [Explodity]* (1913), Kruchenykh explicitly likened his *zaum* speech to the 'speaking of tongues' or glossolalia.[583] He quoted the speech of "the flagelleant V. Shishkov", a prominent worshipper of a Russian mystical sect, and stated that "here, we have the genuine expression of an excited soul, religious ecstasy."[584] In his manifesto, *Novye puti slova [New Ways of the Word]*, Kruchenykh advocates the use of glossolalia as a model for creating innovative language on account of its 'primitive coarseness'.[585] Part of the attraction of glossolalia for these poets was its connection with both Christian sects, who challenged the strictures of the Orthodox Church, and the shamanic tribes of Siberia.[586] Despite the traditional view that glossolalia originated with the 'speaking of tongues' of the Christians at Pentecost, academics now believe that the origins of glossolalia lie in the ancient shamanistic religious traditions of Siberia and Asia Minor, where it

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[579] V. Khlebnikov, (1913). *Slovo kak takovoe [The Word As Such]*. EUY, Moscow: 56.
[580] B. Livshits, quoted in Humphreys, (1989): 163.
[581] Warren, (2013): 93-4; Kovtun, (1998): 117; T. Seifrid, (2005). *The Word Made Self: Russian Writings on Language 1890-1930*. Cornell University Press, New York: 1; Humphreys, (1989): 142.
[582] Parton, (1993): 105; Larionov was clearly interested in the Khlysts, his library (found in National Art Library, Victoria & Albert Museum, London) contains an article on the subject: P. Melnikov, (1868). "Tainyia sekty" ["The Secret Sect"]. *Russkii vestnik [Russian Gazette]*. Vol. 75: 5-70. Additionally, it is important to note that Larionov owned a copy of Khangalov's major work concerning mystical ecstasy: c.f. Khangalov, (1890). Khangalov describes in detail the ecstasy of the Khlystic sects and, most importantly for this study, the ecstacy of the 'shaman' figure; N. Akavia, (2013). *Subjectivity in Motion: Life, Art, and Movement in the Work of Hermann Rorschach*. Routledge, New York: 148. It is interesting to note that Hermann Rorschach argues that by utilising such concepts as glossolalia, and Russian mystical speech, Khlebnikov and Kruchenykh in fact isolated their audiences through the obscurity of their language, rather than creating something which could hold universal significance. C.f. 144.
[583] Warren, (2013): 96.
[584] A. Kruchenykh, (1913b). "Vzorval" ["Explodity"]. In *Russian Futurism Through its Manifestoes, 1912-1928,* (1988), edited and translated by A. Lawton, & H. Eagle. Cornell University Press, New York: 65; Varlaam Shishkov was an authority on Shamanism and a practising Khlyst.
[585] A. Kruchenykh, (1913a). "*Novye puti slova*" ["New Ways of the Word"]. In *Russian Futurism Through its Manifestoes, 1912-1928,* (1988), edited and translated by A. Lawton, & H. Eagle. Cornell University Press, New York: 72; Kruchenykh discusses glossolalia in *Vzorval* (1913) and quotes meaningless words uttered by a Khlyst.
[586] See J. Eugene-Clay, (2001). "Orthodox Missionaries and 'Orthodox Heretics' in Russia, 1886-1917". In *Of Religion and Empire: Missions, Conversions, and Tolerance in Tsarist Russia,* edited by R. Geraci, & M. Khodarkovsky. Cornell University Press, New York: 38-69; D. Schorkiwitz, (2001). "The Orthodox Church, Lamaism, and Shamanism among the Buriats and Kalmyks, 1825-1925". In *Of Religion and Empire: Missions, Conversions, and Tolerance in Tsarist Russia,* edited by R. Geraci, & M. Khodarkovsky. Cornell University Press, New York: 201-229.

resulted from an induced ecstasy which enabled the shaman to exorcise and cure his patients.[587] It appears that Khlebnikov utilised primitive archetypal expression as a means to facilitate unconscious access to the conscious, for his language focuses on the 'inner' or 'subliminal' meaning behind words and sounds.

Consequently, it is evident that the potentially archetypal ecstatic language of these traditions would have influenced both the avant-garde poets and artists. As we have seen, Khlebnikov references a shamanic ritualistic performance in his poem, *Shaman i Venera* (1911). In addition, he cites the 'language of the gods' and he frequently utilised animal sounds in his poetry, particularly bird-song, for example in the work *Utro v lesu [Morning in the Wood]*.[588] Further emphasising the import of ancient mystical linguistic uses in his *zaum*, Khlebnikov states:

> "The fact that transrational language predominated in invocations and charms, driving out rational language, goes to show that it has a special power over the consciousness, special rights to live alongside rational language."[589]

Thus the psychic motivations of Khlebnikov's language become evident; he was seeking an expression which would have 'power over the consciousness'. Khlebnikov illustrates this ideal in his infamous *Zaklatie smekhom [Incantation by Laughter]*, (1910), a poem which is reminiscent of the concept of utilising certain sounds as a form of spell or 'incantation' to invoke the spirits.[590] In its verbal formation the poem is just at the edge of comprehension. For Khlebnikov creates every syllabic sound in the poem from the root of the Russian word 'laughter', 'smekh'. He then joins prefixes and suffixes to the root that in Russian regulate syntax, as well as emotion, direction, and duration.[591] As such Khlebnikov creates a non-sense poem which emulates ecstatic chants and mystical magic speech. Livshits adds to the evidence by declaring that Khlebnikov was "satiated with glossolalia" at this point, and implied that Kruchenykh's poetry was stimulated by shamanic chants.[592]

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[587] May, (1956): 75-76, 83, 86; As proof of this historians cite such sources, which would have been accessible to the avant-garde, as Mikhailovski (1895) and Bogoras (1907).
[588] V. Khlebnikov, (1914). "Utro v lesu" ["Morning in the Wood"]. *Futuristy: Rikaiushchy parnas [Futurists: Roaring Parnassus]*. Hylaea, St Petersburg.
[589] Khlebnikov, (1919a): 235.
[590] Warren, (2013): 95-6; Khlebnikov became captivated by the witchcraft and magic that he encountered through reading numerous anthropological accounts of Russian mythical lore, C.f. G. Janecek, (1996). *Zaum: The Transrational Poetry of Russian Futurism*. San Diego University Press, San Diego: 24-5; Humphreys, (1989): 139.
[591] C.f. S. Compton, (1981). "Italian Futurism and Russia". *Art Journal.* Vol. 41, No. 4 Futurism: 344; Warren, (2013): 96.
[592] B. Livshits, (1933). *Polutoraglazy strelets.* [*The One and a Half-Eyed Archer],* (1977). Translated by J. Bowlt. Oriental Research Partners, Masachusetts: 134, 236; C.f. Eliade on the inter-relations between the shamanic ecstatic language of and the evolution of lyric poetry, Eliade, (1964): 510-110.

Such innovations sparked the prolific collaboration between the Russian avant-garde and their literary counterparts. The avant-garde argued that *zaum*, this new 'transcendental' language, based on symbolic emblems rooted in language, should replace all previous models of verbal discourse.[593] Likewise both Kruchenykh and Khlebnikov promoted the value of art in the actualisation of their linguistic mission. Kruchenykh states: "…in art we already have the first experiences of the language of the future. Art marches in the vanguard of psychic evolution."[594] It is interesting that Kruchenykh chose the word 'psychic' in his praise for art, as it suggests that both the artists and the poets had an overall psychological aim in their artistic mission, indeed, a 'psychic evolution', an anticipation of Jung's reunified consciousness, achieved through the medium of creative expression. Khlebnikov was a great believer of the shared mission of language and the visual arts, seen in his article, *Khudozhniki mira [Artists of the World]* (1919), which acted as a direct plea to artists to create a "network of written signs" to correlate with his own "network of sound 'images' for different types of space" provided by his letter and sound combinations.[595] The intimate connection between his linguistic experiments and the contemporary visual developments in art are exemplified in his identification of the alphabet as a "concise dictionary of the spatial world that is so close, artists, to your art and to your paintbrushes."[596] Khlebnikov created a visual-linguistic amalgamation known as *zvukopis* [sound-painting]. In this 'sound-painting' specific consonants are connected to particular colours so that certain sound combinations could paint a picture. For example, through the use of *zvukopis*, Khlebnikov was able to literally 'paint' the portrait of a face, in his poem *Bobeobi*, published in the anthology *Poshchechina obshchestvennomu vkusu [A Slap in the Face of Public Taste]* (Moscow, 1912-13). Khlebnikov endeavoured to provide a visual allegory to his linguistic experiments to emphasise the significance he placed on the unification of language and the visual arts as he attempted to access higher realms of consciousness.[597] He would soon call for 'a recognised class of artists', who would become 'Presidents of the Globe', distinguished individuals who would rule time and space, and thus facilitate psychological reunification.[598] [599]

Malevich would be named one of Khlebnikov's 'Presidents of the Globe', and would strengthen this connection through his prolific contribution to anthologies, such as *Troe [The*

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[593] C.f. Janecek, (1996).
[594] A. Kruchenykh, V. Khlebnikov, E. Guro & K. Malevich, (1913). *Troe [The Three]*. Zhuravl, St Petersburg: 24-5.
[595] Humphreys, (1989): 140.
[596] V. Khlebnikov, (1919b) "Khudozhniki Mira" ["Artists of the World"]. In *Sobranie sochinenii [Collected Works],* (1968). Vol. 3. W. Fink Verlag, Munich: 219.
[597] Humphreys, (1989): 139.
[598] V. Khlebnikov, *Collected Works*, vol. 2, (1989): 359.
[599] Milner, (1996): 120.

Three], and *Sadok sudei*, which included linguistic and visual mediums. In 1916 Malevich discussed alogism in poetry at the *0,10* exhibition, and his letters to Matiushin further reveal the intensity of this interest.[600] An insightful relationship developed between the contemporary linguistic experiments of *zaum* and trans-rationalism, and the paintings of Malevich, both art forms when utilised in conjunction could create a profound mystical experience, and lead to the actualisation of higher cosmic dimensions, a metaphor for unconscious manifestation. A fundamental expression of this can be found in the work *Englishman in Moscow* (1914), (Fig. 58). Ostensibly the work presents a jumbled conglomeration of illogical and disproportionate images and words depicted in bright vibrant colours, leaving the viewer mystified as to its meaning and yet ultimately entranced – a device that reflects, perhaps, the incomprehensible unconscious communication, expressed at a conscious level. In actuality Malevich makes his images especially clear, he then laces these images with underlying meaning derived from contemporary poetry. In this manner Malevich is perhaps training the conscious to apprehend and assimilate collective unconscious archetypes. The main themes of the work appear to be concealment, time and the ascent to a higher perspective. Such themes are evident through the imagery. Indeed, concealment is most manifest by the obscuring of half the central protagonist's face with a large white sturgeon, the potential shamanic significance of which has already been discussed, whilst ascension is revealed through the ladder; a motif used in the Cubo-Futurist opera *Pobeda nad solntsem* (1913) – a collaborative venture between Malevich, Kruchenykh, Matiushin and Khlebnikov – and in the dominant verticality of the work, evocative of the unconscious ascension into the conscious realms of the psyche.[601]

Malevich's image, however, has a deep symbolic complexity which goes beyond the clarification of his imagery. This enriched symbolism can be found in his use of words and word fragments in order to form hints as to the painting's fundamental significance. In this manner Malevich utilises language in much the same way as Khlebnikov, for Khlebnikov argued that his new *zaum* language, through its unconventional syllable combinations and sound patterns should act as a clue to the underlying fundamental meaning of language and words themselves. Malevich's words allude to the central themes of the work: time and concealment, ultimately bringing about the final theme, ascension. The two words inscribed along the top and bottom of the canvas are ZATMENIE, 'eclipse' and CHASTICHNOE, 'partial'. Their most instant reference is of course the face 'partially eclipsed' by the vertical sturgeon, but such words had a

[600] R. Crone, (1978). "Malevich and Khlebnikov: Suprematism Reinterpreted". *Artforum*: 41-2.
[601] Douglas, (1994): 82.

further symbolic meaning for Malevich.[602] The mention of 'eclipse' automatically recalls the primary theme of *Pobeda nad solntsem*, where the protagonists succeed in ultimately 'eclipsing' the sun. In scene two the Strongman vehemently declares that "The sun lies slaughtered!" followed by "The sun hid/Darkness fell."[603] [604] In the stage design for this scene, half of the sun is depicted, it is 'partially eclipsed'. The central figure of the painting has often been construed as an enigmatic portrait of Kruchenykh, the librettist of the opera, whom Khlebnikov sarcastically called 'a little London ghost.'[605]

Malevich adopts Khlebnikov's device of 'dissecting' his words to enhance their latent meaning and add further emblematic significance to the work. For the word 'eclipse' has been divided into ZA and TMENIE to convey the conception of growing darkness which suggests that the significant meaning of the work lies 'beyond the dark'.[606] For Malevich, darkness signified the depths of emptiness, which it was fundamental to traverse in order to attain higher realms of consciousness, a representation which facilitates the expression of unconscious truths. Similarly, 'partial' has also been dissected into CHAS/TICH/NOE, isolating the word CHAS (hour) and the suffix –NOE (hourly), highlighting a dominant theme of the painting, time.[607] It is worth noting that in the upper-right word fragment, TMENIE one can find the Latinate word TIME. Utilising other alphabets was something encouraged by the Russian Futurists in this period, as emphasised by the manifesto *Bukva kak takovaya [The Letter as Such]*, (1913). It is likely that Malevich intentionally obscured the English TIME inside the Russian TMENIE in order to imply the painting's telos that all elements depicted are a symbolic route to ultimate truth. Time was the dominant theme of *Pobeda nad solntsem*, for once the sun was defeated all conventional associations of time were expunged. Such a conception mirrored the experience of the fourth dimension, where Ouspensky advocated that a clock would be of little or no use, for past, present and future was encapsulated in a fourth-dimensional vacuum, an outward projection of the unconscious. An experience epitomised in the Time Traveller, a central protagonist of *Pobeda nad solntsem*, and in Khlebnikov's figure Ka, who fulfils the prerequisites of Jung's 'archetype of transcendence'. The central conception of time is also emphasised by the depiction of a large red

[602] Ibid.
[603] E. Bartos, & V. Kirby, (1979). "Victory over the Sun". *Tulane Drama Review*. Vol. 15, No. 4: 115.
[604] Ibid.
[605] Milner, (1996): 102.
[606] Milner, (1996): 102; Douglas, (1994): 82.
[607] Milner, (1996): 102; Douglas, (1994): 82.

arrow at the bottom corner of the painting, which is reminiscent perhaps of the hand of a clock.[608]

Malevich links the word '*chastichnoe'* to the surrounding imagery of the painting to heighten the painting's symbolic meaning. For if we consider the fragment CHAS in relation to other words that employ the letters we can see a startling connection to the imagery of the painting. For example, 'chast' can mean 'part' in relation to a military body.[609] Military imagery is profound in the painting, found most expressly in the formidable sabre which slices horizontally across the middle of the work, emblematic of its significance. Images of war are not that surprising, given the context in which this work was painted at the beginning of the First World War. However, the depiction of military images had a fundamental underlying significance which is not at first apparent. For at the time Khlebnikov was formulating a theory based on a mathematical analysis of historical events seeking patterns in the 'waves of time'. He argued that history has a certain rhythm to it that can be calculated, and consequently, apocalyptic events, such as war, could be predicted, indeed, he had successfully foretold the outbreak of the First World War.[610] Thus Malevich brings the painting back to the central theme of time, by referencing Khlebnikov's vision of the passage of time, in the lexical manner of Khlebnikov himself. Another fragmentary development from 'chas' is '*chsovnya*' or chapel. Malevich litters the work with paradigmatic religious images such as the large white sturgeon, a small depiction of an Orthodox Church, a large candle which, through its dissecting by the sword, forms a symbolic cross; all these images insinuate the spiritual dimension of his work.[611] Consequently through the utilisation of emblematic words and word fragments, Malevich imbues his work with an ultimately psychological dimension. By using words in the manner of Khlebnikov he suggests the inherent symbolism and depth of his work, the words, and the images themselves act as portals to attain higher cosmological dimensions. Thus the work allegorically expresses Jungian collective archetypes to facilitate the reunification of the consciousness and hence the actualisation of our highest psychic potential.

Finally, the central protagonist himself, the top-hatted figure, embodies the overall mission of the painting. For what is most striking about the figure is its categorical hieratic avocation, for his eye transfixes the viewer. Consequently, Malevich personifies the transformative effect of entering the fourth dimension, for by transfixing the viewer, the figure's

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608 Milner, (1996): 104.
609 Ibid.
610 Ibid: 159, 120.
611 Milner, (1996): 104; Douglas, (1994): 82.

eye creates a scenario whereby the conglomeration of objects and words encompassing the bisected image are in a sense peripheral, they belong to the noumenal realm of subconscious sensation. They no longer conform to the boundaries of conventional logic but instead are evocative of inner alogical concepts; as a result, the perspectival space is governed by the inner psychic forces of the individual rather than conventional three-dimensional perspectives. The relationships between this amalgamation of images is mystical, not in the sense of religious doctrine, but rather the genuine expression of the innovative laws of 'trans-rationalism'.[612] Such an experience is reminiscent of Matiushin's theory of 'expanded vision' which he outlined in the journal *Zhizn iskusstva [Life of Art]*.[613] In this theory Matiushin establishes the potential of one's sight and its connection to one's cognition. He postulated that sight can perceive both directly as in every-day viewing, and indirectly, whereby its visual angle of perception can be extended, first to 180 degrees and subsequently to 360 degrees and even possibly have the potential to see through the back of one's head. For Matiushin expanded viewing was the means by which the artist, or 'see-knower', could enter the 'real space of the universe', to perceive a new ascended realm, a metaphor for genuine unified unconscious and conscious perception. The experience of such vision caused one's primary visual space to recede, revealing new advanced and thus far unseen properties of the environment.[614] Such a conception perhaps parallels the visual reception of *The Englishman in Moscow*, where the protagonist is consumed by a swirl of illogical images, a visual description of expanded vision. Malevich emphasises that the path to heightened consciousness is not easy, for the ascending ladder is dissected by the sabre's blade, suggesting that one's journey of ascent is affected by the intervention of 'dark factors', for the search for wisdom occurs within an interior darkness, a journey of the soul.[615] Consequently, the central protagonist, whose eye transfixes the viewer, facilitated by the 'trans-rational' word fragments, enters the higher dimensions of the cosmological universe, dimensions governed by innovative alogical laws which heighten the intuition. In this way Malevich utilises Jungian archetypes to express the necessity of facilitating a reunified consciousness.

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[612] Sherwin Simons, (1978), II: 136-7.
[613] M. Matiushin, (1923). "Not Art But Life". *Life of Art*. No. 20: 15.
[614] C. Douglas, (1986). "The Spiritual in Art: Abstract Painting 1890-1985". *Exhibition Catalogue*. Los Angeles County Museum of Art: 194; A. Povelikhina, (1975). "Matyushin's Spatial System". *The Structurist*. No. 15/16: 64-71. Matiushin also imbued the 'new realm' with a cosmological dimension, stating that he had 'destroyed' traditional laws of perception: "I destroy this limit. I created a line of direction which passes through me and goes beyond: it passes through the Earth, through my antipode and goes towards the stars": M. Matiushin, (1913b). "Opyt khudozhnika novoi mery" ["An Artist's Experience of the New Dimension"]. In *K istorii russkogo avangarda [On the History of the Russian Avant-Garde]*, (1976), edited by N. Khardzhiev. Gileja, Stockholm: 183.
[615] Sherwin Simons, (1978), II: 138.

For Goncharova and Larionov the influence of *zaum* can be found in their pioneering conception of book illustration. The publication of numerous extraordinarily innovative illustrated books, produced through their collaboration with Khlebnikov and Kruchenykh, led to the creation of a new holistic medium, the 'art book', which offered them the opportunity to explore and challenge the relationship between image and text, working within an interdisciplinary model, and to provide a means with which they might extend the audience of their modern aesthetic.[616] This discussion will focus on the revolutionary projects, *Mir s konsta* (1912), *Vertogradari nad lozami [Gardeners Above the Vines]*, (1913) and *Pustynniki, Pustynnitsa: Dve poemy [Hermits, Hermit Woman: Two Poems]*, (1913). By combining image and text the artists would create a more powerful medium with which to incite psychological holism.

Mir s konsta was the first lithographic illustrated book to come out of the collaboration between the Russian Futurist poets and painters, with contributions from Kruchenykh, Goncharova, Larionov, Rogovin and Tatlin.[617] The book was set apart from any previous graphic books for three principal reasons. Firstly, the tendentious appeal to the 'primitive' in both its form and the materials employed in its creation. Secondly, the pivotal role that sound plays in relation to the word and image, creating a form of 'sound-poetry' which utilised the innovatory *zaum* language, and finally the illustrations and how they are inextricably linked with the text.[618] At first glance the book is the epitome of the naïve and gauche, printed on cheap, course paper, imbuing the publication with deliberately popular qualities, reminiscent of the *lubok*, and utilising an unusual combination of handwritten text and transfer lithography strewn illogically across the page, with text of varying typefaces integrated with images executed in numerous styles, creating a poignantly expressive medium.[619] As such, it wilfully subverted the conventions of the luxurious *World of Art* publications, indeed, it was "an obvious attempt to emphasise disorder."[620] [621]

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[616] Parton, (2010): 80, 221, 230; Chamot, (1979): 13; It is also important to bear in mind the significance of Sonia Delaunay's *La Prose d'Transsibérien*, (1913) which had revolutionised book design in Paris. This was mentioned in: Cynthia Willaman, (2013). "Sonia and Robert Delaunay in Germany: Exhibiting with the Russian Avant-Garde". Paper presented at Cultural Exchange: Russia and the West II: CCRAC Conference, Cambridge University, December 10.

[617] Parton, (2010): 234.

[618] N. Perloff, (2013). "Mirskontsa (Worldbackwards): Collaborative Book Art and Transrational Sounds". *Getty Research Journal,* No. 5: 101.

[619] S. Compton, (1978). *The World Backwards: Russian Futurist Books 1912-1916*. The British Library, London: 205; N. Khardzhiev, (1968). "Pamiati Natalii Goncharova (1881-1962) i Mikhaila Larionov (1881-1964)" ["In Memory of Natalia Goncharova (1881-1962) and Mikhail Larionov (1881-1964)"]. *Iskusstvo knigi [Art Book]*. Vol. 5. Moscow: 310.

[620] Markov, (1968): 41.

[621] Janecek, (1984): 79-80; c.f. Parton, (2010): 230-234. It is interesting to note that Matiushin declared that *Sadok sudei I [Trap for Judges I]* "landed like a bomb in the gathering of 'mystics' that met at Viacheslav Ivanov's" C.f. M.

The evocation of naivety is most apparent in the book's title, *Mir s konsta*, the word is a *zaum* neologism formed by Kruchenykh to mean literally 'world from the end', taken from the components 'mir', 'world', 's', 'from', and 'konsta', 'the end'. The title suggests an attempt to look backwards to the origins of the world, seeking a prehistoric, archaic time and place, and through its unsettling contradiction 'world from end', it implies 'the end of the world', evocative of both apocalyptic judgment and redemptive resurrection.[622] In this manner it anticipates Jung, for the requirement to reassert archaic spiritualism into the modern conscious, and thus to facilitate a psychological 'resurrection' was fundamental to Jung's process for reversing world-wide psychic dislocation. Further Jungian qualities can be found in the book's utilisation of Kruchenykh's 'transrational' language imbuing it with an astonishing phonic and expressive dimension.[623] For when one attempts to read the poetry of *Mir s konsta*, the conventional automatism of perception is subverted, yielding an illogical stream of disconnected consonant and vowel sounds and strings of neologisms which do not bear meaning in the usual sense. Rather the phonic expression of these 'words' when heard and seen in conjunction with the visual image, creates a rich atmospheric condition consisting of a variety of associations, tones and moods; an experience reminiscent of ecstatic mystical and religious rituals, which utilise repetitive 'non-sense' language in order to incite hallucinogenic ecstasy.[624]

For the Russian Futurists, the aim of utilising such alogical language was to isolate the word as a medium of expression in its own right, a self-sufficient element the primary aim of which was to express the "sound as such," whereby different sound combinations are utilised in order to revert back to the primordial purity and proximity of 'primitive' language.[625] In several manifestos, Kruchenykh, Khlebnikov, Kulbin and Nikolai Burliuk examined the conception of sound and how to express it visually, in an attempt to create a syncretic system which would influence sound, meaning and graphic expression in poetry.[626] Nikolai Burliuk declared:

> "The premise on which we base our attitude to the word as a living organism…is that the poetic word is perceptible. Its qualities change in relation to whether it is written, or painted, or thought. It acts on all our senses."[627]

Matiushin, (1934). *Tvorcheskii put khudozhnika [The Career of an Artist]*. Manuscript in the State History Museum, Leningrad; c. f. E. Kovtun, (1987). "Experiments in Book Design by Russian Artists". *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts,* Vol. 5, Russian/Soviet Theme Issue: 46-7.

[622] Perloff, (2013): 103-5.

[623] Ibid: 101.

[624] Ibid.

[625] R. Jakobson, (1997). *My Futurist Years*. Edited by B. Jangfeldt, & S. Rudy, and translated by S. Rudy. Marsilio Publishers, New York: 24.

[626] Kovtun, (1987): 47-50.

[627] N. Burliuk, (1914). "Poeticheskie nachala" ["Poetic Beginnings"]. *Futuristy [The Futurists]*. No. 1-2. Moscow: 81.

Burliuk here values the 'word' itself as a medium of expression; it becomes a 'living organism' which can have an effect on all our means of perception. Such a conception was highly 'primitive', for in 'primitive' societies ecstatic language, where alogical 'words' were formed from specific sound-combinations, had the power to incite ecstasy. Indeed, it was this 'primitive' vitality which Jung wanted to resurrect in modern man's consciousness. In *Mir s konsta*, we see an extraordinary display of the syncretic word-visual-sound phenomenon. For not only does the typeface of the text itself change, from handwriting to lithography and printing, but the presentation of the text is also erratic, with drawings woven into the text itself or substantial lengths of prose interposed with large full-page pictures, each time creating a new harmony, an innovative plastic arrangement of the page, leaving the reader entranced in an atmosphere insinuating ecstasy and paralleling the ritualistic conventions of mystical language and trance.[628]

The illustrations littering the book further enhance its pre-figured Jungian undertones expressed with wilful naivety and reflecting the apparent desire for regression to primitivism. Goncharova provided several illustrations for *Mir s konsta*, but her most significant, for this discussion, are firstly her cover-design for the book, (Fig. 59) and most importantly, her illustration for Kruchenykh's poem *Puteshestvie po vsemu svetu [A Voyage Across the Whole World]*, (Fig. 60). Goncharova's cover-design is a supreme expression of naivety, for not only did she utilise the medium of collage for possibly the first time in this manner, but she also created a wilfully child-like image, a Jungian evocation of the 'primitive'.[629] The design consists of a coloured abstracted flower-shape and a rectangular label containing the title of the book and the names of the poets. It is reminiscent of rudimentary children's art and thus highlights the proximity of personal involvement in the creative process, exemplifying the desire to regress to a 'primitive' expression.[630] Further heightening the archetypal intention of this book, Parton argues that Goncharova's illustration to Kruchenykh's poem *Puteshestvie po vsemu svetu* depicts a nude cross-legged female shaman wearing her characteristic feather headdress. He continues that Kruchenykh's poem alludes to the transcendental soul-journey of a Siberian shaman, being composed in a stream-of-consciousness style, evocative of the experience of a shamanic ecstatic chant sequence. The image is placed between the title of the poem and its first verse, a significant placement, for it suggests that this shaman was the initiator of Kruchenykh's mystical journey, and implies that the author was himself a shamanic figure.[631] Thus an important expression of

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[628] Kovtun, (1987): 47-50.
[629] Perloff, (2013): 101. Collage can be found later in the artwork of *Zaumnaia gniga [Transrational boog]* (1915), but otherwise is unparalleled in the illustrative scheme of Futurist book-art.
[630] Parton, (2010): 235.
[631] Parton, (1993): 107; Parton, (2010): 236-7.

'transcendent archetypes'. However, it is important to note that Goncharova herself never describes this figure as a shaman, and Parton's 'headdress' is perhaps more reminiscent of wild hair. Moreover, the ecstatic *zaum* language of Kruchenykh appears to have been inspired by a multitude of 'primitive' sources and therefore is not necessarily shamanic. It might be more appropriate to argue that the figure represents an archetypal mystic figure, which in conjunction with Kruchenykh's archetypal *zaum* language, attempts to fulfil Jungian psychic reunification. In fact, the conflation of the trans-rational *zaum* and a 'primitive' illustration of a mystical figure became a recurring motif in the production of Russian Futurist books. Subsequently, Larionov would portray a crude female figure depicted in a crouched animal-like posture, whose ecstatic song was suggested by four schematic black arrows on the right-hand side, entitled *The Songstress*, (Fig. 61), to accompany Khlebnikov's *zaum* poem "Dyr bul shchyl" in *Pomada [Pomade],* (February, 1913).[632] Interestingly, when Kruchenykh read out his infamous "Dyr bul shchyl" to a Muscovite audience he was ridiculed for being nothing more than a shaman![633] *Mir s konsta* thus can be characterised by its crude primitivism and pre-figured evocation of Jungian archetypes, for the whole ensemble is an *ad hoc* jumble of typefaces and scripts, lithography, rubber-stamping and even potato prints, supplemented by infantile designs and pictographic runic hieroglyphs which all emphasise the regression to archaism.[634] Here we can see again that the artists utilise vibrant visual and phonic collective archetypes as a means of expressing what Jung would later describe as the ultimate apprehension and assimilation of unconscious expression.

The 'art-books' produced by the Russian avant-garde at this point not only redefined the conventions of an illustrated book, but also reconstructed the conception of illustration itself. The artist was no longer required to provide images which were 'attached' to the written prose, but rather he developed poetic, syncretic images which harmonised and were inextricably linked to the text.[635] As Khudakov declares:

> "In Russia, beginning with Natalia Goncharova and Larionov, the first illustrators of Khlebnikov, Kruchenykh, and others, it is well nigh impossible to imagine the books of these poets without the illustrations accompanying them."[636]

Such a conception enhances the psychological power of the medium, for both the words and their associated illustrations assault the conscious and their symbolism facilitates unconscious

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[632] Parton, (1993): 104-6; The text of the poem is thus: "dyr bul shchyl/ubesh shchur/skum/vy so bu/r l ez" c.f. Kruchenyk, A. *Pomada* (Pomade), (Moscow, 1913): 3.
[633] V. Kamensky, (1940). *Zhizn s Maiakovskim [Life with Maiakovsky]*. Gosudarstvennaia literature, Moscow: 38.
[634] Parton, (2010): 235.
[635] Kovtun, (1987): 59.
[636] Khudakov, (1913): 144.

expression and apprehension. A profound example of this is Bobrov's *Vertogradari nad lozami,* (1913), illustrated by Goncharova. Bobrov describes Goncharova's illustrations thus; "the essence of their novelty lies in the analogous aspirations of poem and drawing, and the elucidation of the poem through the drawing is achieved by painterly, not literary means."[637] Goncharova eloquently expressed the syncretic nature of the medium, utilising her illustrations to evoke an atmosphere where sound, text and image converge. Goncharova's illustrations for the book are also interesting, both in the subjects that she chose to address in her formulation of the 'syncretic image' and in the manner in which she depicted them. The illustrations are executed using a variety of techniques, largely as blue and brown coloured lithographs, which illustrate both specific subject matter and poetic abstract designs. The book also contains a contents table in which the titles of the illustrations are listed.[638] The most significant title for this discussion is *Kamennaia baba*, (Fig. 62). As we have seen, the *kamennaia baba* is a ritualistic shamanic artefact and thus its placement here has certain primitive significance, suggesting a Jungian regression to the 'primtive'. Goncharova depicts the schematised idol in a horizontal tilting pose across a double page spread so that it appears to be floating above a naïve landscape of trees and hills. In the shamanic phenomenon *kamennaia baba* are worshipped on the occasion of death and burial and thus have a potential connection to the traversal of the soul. Given that Goncharova depicts the idol floating, one might argue that she is attempting to evoke the transcendence of the 'primitive' soul, a Jungian metaphor for unconscious access and expression, and thus it appears that Goncharova is utilising symbolic imagery as a means to facilitate a psychic reunification.

It is interesting that Goncharova's final collaboration with Kruchenykh, *Pustynniki, Pustynnista: Dve poemy*, would celebrate the ritualistic conventions of ecstatic sects, for example, the Khlysts, who utilised glossolalia, along with other 'primitive' rituals, and thus had been ostracised from conventional society, for this suggests her own and Kruchenykh's, desire to convey 'primitive' archetypal elements in their work.[639] Indeed, the 'trans-rational', free-flowing prose of the poem and its controversial, provocative illustrations parody the ecstatic ritualistic conventions of several mystical phenomena. For as we have seen, Kruchenykh researched the ecstatic languages of marginalised religious sects and pagan ideologies in order to find a unique, evocative mode of expression which would revert language to the immediacy of its primordial

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[637] S. Bobrov, (1913). "O novoi illiustratsii" ["A New Illustration"]. *Vertogradari nad lozami [Garderners Above the Vines]*. Lirika, Moscow: 156.
[638] E. Kasinec, & R. Davis, (1989). "Russian Book Arts on the Eve of World War One: The New York Public Library Collections". *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts.* Vol. 14: 107.
[639] Parton, (2010): 237.

roots. He found such a verbal expression in the ecstatic language of mysical ritual, and subsequently developed his *zaum* language as a modern parallel imbued with archaic symbolism, a paradigmatic example of which is utilised in the work *Pustynniki*. This inherently symbolic text is supplemented by the provocative and richly emblematic illustrations of Goncharova. Her frontispiece, (Fig. 63), utilises the floral decoration conventionally found in medieval illuminated manuscripts, which complements the text, composed in old chancellery and partial unicate script. This bestows an ecclesiastic and archaic quality upon the narrative. However, the narrative itself both subverts and utilises the symbolic depth associated with Russian orthodoxy, for the book examines schismatics who live beyond the conventions of civilisation in the wild 'primitive' periphery of the Russian society, and thus outside of Russian Christianity, but symbolically confers upon them the heightened spiritual status of the subjects of a religious book.[640] Thus a conflation of archaic and Christian symbolism which suggests an archetypal capacity facilitating psychic reunification.

Goncharova utilises a monumental artistic language to convey the images of hermits. These include naked female figures, potentially medicine-women or pagan healers (Figs 64 & 65); two intensely black depictions which dramatically contrast light and dark to emphasise the haunting mystical presence of the women and the profane nature of their ritualistic practice.[641] In her depiction of a hermit riding a five-hoofed ox (Fig. 66), on the other hand, Goncharova simultaneously satirised 'The Entry into Jerusalem' whilst also referring to referring to Madame Blavatsky's description of Sãdhu riding a sacred cow with five legs, the fifth one protruding from his hump.[642] The illustration is an example of the principle of *dvoeverie*, invoking both Orthodox biblical traditions and that of modern Theosophical practice. Goncharova exudes a profound symbolic depth to the medium of graphic illustration, for she syncretically parallels the ecstatic *zaum* text of the poem with her images, and she does so in a manner that evokes mystical references. Thus she creates Jungian collective archetypes through a significant iconography of symbolic images. From them she creates a holistic sphere, the fulfilment of psychic reunification, through the unification of diverse symbols imbued with a transcendent capacity.

For Filonov the union between image and text was fundamental. This can be seen most apparently in his innovative illustration of Khlebnikov's *Derevyannye idoly* in his *Izbornik stikhov [Selected Verses],* (1914), and Filonov's own visionary poem *Propoven o prorosli mirovoi [Chant of*

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640 Ibid: 237-8.
641 Ibid: 239; Kasinec, & Davis, (1989): 107.
642 H. Blavatsky, [Radabai], (2009). *From the Caves and Jungles of Hindostan*. The Floating Press, London: Chapter VIII. Blavatsky initially published her writings in Russian in 1891 in the journal *Russkii vestnik [The Russian Gazette]*.

Universal Flowering] (1915). Filonov was attracted to the *zaum* language as a scientifically justified, universal language, which was built from fundamental elements of all language that would reflect the mechanisms of transformation in all life, defined by Darwinian and neovitalist evolution.[643] As such, language became analogous to a living organism expressed by literary devices which paralleled the organic processes of evolution. Based on this conception, the Russian avant-garde poets metaphorically expressed the fundamental principle of chance, and the underlying force of natural selection, through typographical errors, omissions, lack of punctuation, word and sound mutations formed as neologisms, created through the morphing of individual letters, prefixes and suffixes within a single word. They defined an inherent psychic meaning in combinations of both vowel and consonantal sounds, each combination of which could provoke a diverse set of unconscious sensations and emotions. Thus through the combination of 'sound units' the poets could create a simultaneously abstract and meaningful universal language whose foundations were the sounds of human speech.[644] Such a conception pre-figures Jungian psychological archetypes for it seeks equilibrium through an apparently chaotic expression which is ultimately underlined with universal meaning.

One of Filonov's most significant illustrative ventures in this vein can be seen in Khlebnikov's *Izbornik stikhov*, (1914), to which he contributed two illustrations, and his own form of calligraphy for the lithographic poetic fragment *Derevyannye idoly*, (Fig. 67).[645] Remarkably this text is little discussed among academic scholarship, even though it is ground-breaking in its expression of *Gesamtkunstwerk*, a total art work. In creating the illustrations for Khlebnikov's poetry, Filonov abandoned conventional techniques, seeking rather to bring the words to life, and thus he intensifies Khlebnikov's poetic vision with an innovative typography where the letters themselves are transformed into hieroglyphic images evocative of their verbal description. For example, the letters 'P' and 'n' in the name 'Perun' form zigzag arrows reminiscent of thunderbolts, providing the reader with an immediate pictorial image of Perun, the pagan Slavic thunder-god, beyond the purely semantic association of his name. Further, the word 'shipovnik' (dogrose) literally sprouts flowers and thorns, and the 'g' of gadyuka (snake) writhes. As well as

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643 The neovitalists were a group of scientists and philosophers who sprung up with the resurgence of interest in Darwinian evolutionary theory. The best known philosophical neovitalist in this period was Henri Bergson, while the best known scientific neovitalist was Hans Driesch. Those neovitalists from the philosophical sphere concentrated on metaphysical rhetoric, while the scientific neovitalists utilised modern biological language. C.f. A. Vucinich, (1988). *Darwin in Russian Thought*. University of California Press, Oakland: 169ff.

644 Douglas, (1984): 158-160; Khlebnikov's linguistic conceptions are defined in his essays, such as "Khudozhniki mira" ["Artists of the World"], (1919) and "Nasha osnova" ["Our Fundamentals"], (1919). In *Sobranie Sochinenii [Collected Works]*, (1968). Vol. 3. W. Fink Verlag, Munich: 216-21, 228- 43; Seifrid, (2005): 67.

645 Bowlt, (1975a): 213.

converging key letters with symbolic images, Filonov enlarged or shaded them so as to add emphasis, producing a form of 'zvukopis' so as to augment Khlebinokov's text into an innovative holistic visual dimension.[646] One critic stated:

> "What was new was that Filonov had changed individual letters into drawing, into a visual symbol which denoted the word as a whole. He attempted to restore the written language to its source, to change the phonic script into an ideographic one -into pictography and hieroglyphics."[647]

Filonov's use of hieroglyphic illustration could perhaps be paralleled with the pictographic iconography found on shamanic drums or other archaic illustrations, such as pre-historic cave-paintings, which potentially has an archetypal significance, for the pictography on a shaman's drum in conjunction with a nonsensical chant is a ritualistic requirement for the undertaking of the shamanic soul-journey, thus a transcendent archetype. Perhaps then Filonov's hieroglyphic illustrations are not merely an expression of antiquated literalism, but rather, when perceived in conjunction with Khlebnikov's trans-rational text, form an idiom whereby modern and 'primitive' elements are fused hence fracturing the bonds of time and creating a simultaneous expression of the interconnection between past and present, nature and humanity, through the convergence of word and object.[648] In this manner Filonov utilises 'primitive' pictographic iconography and ritualistic ideology to create what would subsequently be termed Jungian collective archetypes, and thus he facilitates psychological holism.

In 1915, Filonov published his own neologist poem composed in dramatic form entitled: *Propoven o prorosli mirovoi.*[649] The work, accompanied by line drawings, is his only published poetic piece and represents the confluence of literary and artistic devices, in an otherwise purely theoretical and pictorial *oeuvre*.[650] *Propoven* is an oral dramatic poem composed of two parts: the first consists of a song about the folk epic hero, Vanka Kliuchnik; and the second comprises a chant about a fair maiden who is deceased. The overriding theme of the work is that of the First World War, portrayed through metaphorical allusions to the German hostilities in the first part, and through a contemporary description of the war in the second part. The poem culminates in the hero's epilogue where he proclaims the coming of a new enlightened era.[651] The most

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[646] Milner-Gulland, (1983): 22; Goldstein, (1989): 583.
[647] E. Kovtun, (1974). "Das Antibuch der Warwara Stepanowa" ["Varvara Stepanova's Anti-Book"]. *Von der Flache zur Raum [From Surface to Space]*. Galerie Gmurzynska Publications, Cologne: 60.
[648] Milner-Gulland, (1983): 22.
[649] Ibid.
[650] Bowlt, (1983): 14.
[651] Ibid.

significant part of *Propoven* is Filonov's language, which is largely cryptic, composed of neologisms, *zaum*-inspired combinations of cognates, fused with unanticipated verbal particles and the overall rejection of punctuation, creating an incomprehensible poetical fabric.[652] Even the title of the work, 'Propoven o prorosli mirovoi', demonstrates its innovation, for the word, 'propoven' is a neologism stemming from the verb 'pet' [to sing], juxtaposed with the prefix 'pro' [through], which conveys a durative expression, i.e. something to be sung over a period of time. The verb 'propevat' can be defined as singing (a song) to its end, hence when combined with the hypnotic monotonic language of the work, is expressed in the word 'chant', whose meaning extends to the whole opus, for it conveys the underlying experience of partaking in a religious, sectarian rite.[653]

Such radical language, whereby linguistic strata are invented for their ultimate acoustical properties whilst still resonating with an underlying philosophical and descriptive value, is combined with four seemingly ambiguous images; *Migrants*, *The Hunter*, *Rebirth of a Man*, and *Principle of Pure Active Form* (Fig. 68). Bowlt argues that the illustrations have no relation to the text and are included merely as examples of Filonov's art.[654] However, when we consider them in the context of a Jungian anticipation their relationship to the text perhaps becomes more apparent, for at least three of them are evocative of primal instincts and collective archeypes: *The Hunter* is significant, for prolific 'primitive' communities are found among hunter-gatherer societies, *Rebirth of a Man* is reflective of the archetypal initiatory experience of dismemberment and rebirth, and *Pure Active Form* acts as a visual expression of the form resultant from a heightened state of perception which was necessary for the transcendence of this realm. Whilst a pre-figured Jungian allusion may seem a stretch on its own, when taken in conjunction with the alogistic, trans-rational text of the poem it seems to have more value in terms of the holistic aim of the work, a metaphor for psychic holism. Filonov himself emphasises the importance of viewing the work in its totality, so as to accentuate its universal holistic telos. When answering Ekaterina's question about why the work was freed from the basic strictures of syntax and punctuation, he states: "You yourself must understand the beginning and the end."[655] The result then is equivalent to that of Filonov's paintings: now and then we detect familiar images and forms, but the overwhelming sense of chaos absorbing them frustrates any effort to correlate them, and thus on encountering the work one is left to pursue a form of oneiric, hallucinatory

[652] Bowlt, (1975a): 213; Bowlt, (1975b): 290; Bowlt, (1983): 14.
[653] Bowlt, (1983): 14-15; Misler, (1983a): 41.
[654] Bowlt, (1983): 14.
[655] Fund 156, No. 34, (1921), Sheet 7 (Remarks about *Chant of Universal Flowering*) c.f. Petrova, (2006): 87.

journey through a labyrinth of inferences which never quite extend to the levels of our conventional reality.[656] Such an experience adequately parallels the initial attempt of the conscious to apprehend and assimilate unconscious motivations.

For Kandinsky, the influence of archetypal ecstatic language is perhaps most apparent in his work *Klänge [Sounds],* (1912), an anthology of poems illustrated with woodcuts which synthesised word, sound and image.[657] Weiss argues that Kandinsky was particularly influenced by shamanism in the creation of this volume, claiming that even in the title of the work Kandinsky evokes the shamanic phenomenon. For the sounds of the drum became the shaman's vehicle for transcending the realm, and hence Kandinsky in naming his book *Klänge,* 'sounds' or 'resonances', she argues, seems to be metaphorically imbuing his work with the same transcendental function.[658] However, it seems a stretch to argue that the German word *Klänge* has a specifically shamanic connection. Weiss further argues that Kandinsky's poetic language seems to mimic that of a rhythmic shamanic chant, as in order to convey resonances in his poetry he frequently utilises word repetition. However, word repetition is not a device only utilised in shamanic chants so this also seems a stretch. She illustrates this using the poem *Seeing,* which relates in the first line: "Blue, blue, rose up, rose up and fell."[659] Perhaps it is more reasonable to argue a pre-figured Jungian psychological aim for Kandinsky's use of word repetition, since he believed that word repetition enables the individual words to resound with their inner voice. Kandinsky argued that all every day words have an inner sound and if you repeat a word often enough it will become senseless, it is then that the inner sound resounds most poignantly, it is this inner sound which communicates most effectively with the soul of the viewer.[660] In this Kandinsky may well have been inspired by Ivanov's *The Testament of Symbolism* (1910), in which Ivanov discusses ancient Greek poetry, stating: "The task of poetry was the incantatory magic of rhythmic speech, mediating between man and the world of the divine beings."[661] In this manner Kandinsky appears to anticipate Jung's need for unconscious communication with the conscious.

Weiss argues that Kandinsky potentially makes an explicit reference to shamanism in his poem *Hills*, in the following passage:

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656 Bowlt, (1975b): 290; Bowlt, (1975a): 213-14.
657 Düchting, (2007): 17.
658 Weiss, (1995): 79.
659 W. Kandinsky, (1912c). "Seeing". In *Klänge [Sounds]*, translated by E. Napier in 1981. Yale University Press, New Haven: 21.
660 Bourneuf, (2011); Turchin, (2008): 130.
661 West, (1970): 58.

"His face is pale, except for two patches of red on his cheeks.
His lips, too, are red. Hung about him is a big drum, and he drums...
In a long drawn out rhythm: one...one...one...one...
As if completely exhausted, he lies there, the black man,
Stretched out on the white path, amidst the hills of all colours.
His drum lies beside him, and the two drumsticks as well."[662]

She argues that here we are confronted with a reminiscence of Kandinsky's ethnographic journey to the Vologda region. The pale-faced man with red cheeks and lips who drums is perhaps a Zyrian shaman. She postulates that in this poem Kandinsky describes the experience of a shamanic ceremony, in which the shaman drums and then falls into a trance with his drum lying beside him, and metaphorically evokes that experience in his rhythmic repetition of the word "one".[663] However, Kandinsky himself never explicitly states that the poem is connected to the shamanic phenomenon, and one problem which needs to be addressed is that the poem mentions two drumsticks, whereas the shaman drum is almost exclusively beaten with a single stick or the palm of the hand. Perhaps then it is more appropriate to suggest that Kandinsky in *Klänge* constructs a unified *Gesamtkunstwerk* through which he is able to replicate the experience of unconscious access and expression to the conscious through the utilisation of archetypal 'primitive' expression.

In addition to referencing mystical ecstatic language, Weiss argues that Kandinsky began to allegorically relate his art work to the supreme shamanic artefact for facilitating altered-states-of-consciousness, the drum. Perhaps the most evident example of Kandinsky's appropriation of this shamanistic precedent is his watercolour, *In the Circle* (c. 1911-13), (Fig. 69), with its 'pictographic' representations that appear to parallel iconographic shamanic drum skins, such as (Fig. 70).[664] The vital importance of the drum in shamanism is universal. It is essential for enacting the shamanic ritual, and acts literally as the vehicle by which the shaman is 'carried' to the other worlds. If we agree with Weiss that Kandinsky is referencing the shamanic drum then one might argue that he has transformed his art into an 'archetypal image', an image capable of facilitating unconscious transcendence to the conscious realm. Although the shape and size of the shamanic drum and the imagery depicted on it varied depending on the shamanic tribe, it's

[662] W. Kandinsky, (1912d). "Hills". In *Klänge [Sounds]*, translated by E. Napier in 1981. Yale University Press, New Haven: 17-20.
[663] Weiss, (1987): 213.
[664] Weiss, (1995): 89; Weiss, (1987): 206.

sacred and magical symbolism, both as a means of communication with the gods, and as a means of transcendence is ubiquitous throughout shamanic doctrine.[665] Weiss argues that at this time, Kandinsky formed a direct analogy between the drum as cosmogonic map and as a means of transcendence to the artist's canvas, and that we begin to see the vocabulary of drum pictography as a source of Kandinsky's abstract scheme.[666]

In the watercolour *In the Circle* (1911-13), (Fig. 69), suggestions of horses, zigzags and ladders hang indeterminately within a visibly circular 'drum' form. Among the Buriat tribe the shaman's drum acted as a metaphorical horse upon which he traversed the realms. For Kandinsky the horse emblem was to subsequently become the circle, a form which we might argue he allegorically related, on account of its 'inner possibilities', to the shaman's drum with which he 'shamanises', although Kandinsky himself never states his belief in its aesthetic connection to specifically shamanism.[667] Nevertheless, as has been discussed, Kandinsky had access to literature on shamanism, and vast ethnographic collections. We can potentially assume that he would have been aware of Potanin's four volumes on North-western Mongolia, in which Potanin illustrates shamanic drum schemata.[668] Perhaps the most significant of these to Kandinsky's *In the Circle,* is the schemata of an Altaic shaman's drum illustrated in the fourth volume, (Fig. 71).[669] A comparison between Kandinsky's work and this shamanic drum is enlightening. Particularly striking is the remarkable similarity between the horse schemata depicted on the drum, and the hooked rounded lines found just above the centre to the left in Kandinsky's watercolour. Furthermore, suggestions of iconographic suns and moons abound while linked angles imply mountains, all of which can be found on Lapp shaman drum-skins.[670] Whilst the similarities are striking it is important to bear in mind that this argument is unfortunately only speculative although they do indicate a certain psychological intention.

If we continue in this vein, then potentially more significant for the purposes of this argument is the relationship between Kandinsky's work and a Chukchee drawing of 'the three

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[665] On the drums 'ascensional symbols' see Eliade, (1964): 171. The vehicular function of the drum might be conferred upon the horse, the reindeer, the elk, a giant fish, a boat or a sacred bird, such as the goose or eagle, see Eliade, (1964): 173f., 192. On the shaman's drum as a symbol of the universe and cosmogonic map see M. Jankovics, (1984). "Cosmic Models and Siberian Shaman Drums". In *Shamanism in Eurasia*, edited by M. Hoppál. Edition Herodot, Göttingen: 149-173.
[666] Weiss, (1995): 87.
[667] Ibid: 89; Weiss, (1987): 206.
[668] Cf. G. Potanin, (1881-1883). *Ocherki severo-zapadnoi Mongolii [Studies of Northwestern Mongolia]* 4 vols. Karshbaum, St Petersburg
[669] Cf. Ibid: IV: plates VIII, IX.
[670] Weiss, (1995): 89; for similarities see the Lapp shaman drum schema, which was reproduced by J. Friis, (1871). *Lappisk Mythologi, Eventyr og Folkesagen, [Lapp Mythology: Events and Folk-stories].* A Cammermeyer, Christiana. This schema was also published by Krohn, (1906): 155-80, a source Kandinsky would certainly have known.

worlds' published in 1909 by Bogoras, (Fig. 72).[671] Bogoras postulates that the three concentric rings shown in the drawing indicate the 'three worlds' of the Chukchee universe, with the innermost ring signifying 'our world'. The human 'world' contains several images including symbols for the sun, moon, and North Star, while the darker semi-circular shapes along the rim are reminiscent of underworld locations, such as, the Mountain of Shadows. In this, and in other Chukchee drawings, as well as in numerous Siberian and Lapp shamanic drum illustrations, the protagonists seem to hover in an indeterminate space, with no regard to any form of orientation except in relation to the 'rim' which identifies the concentric realms. Even in drum illustrations that are segmented with lines defining each of the spheres, the figures may still float indeterminately within their delineated spaces. Weiss draws a parallel between this drawing and Kandinsky's watercolour and it does seem that we can see the semi-circular shapes depicted along the rim in a similar way as in the Chukchee depiction, and many circular forms which parallel those symbolizing the stars and planets of the Chukchee universe, but of course this is again speculative.[672]

Another Chukchee drawing, which was also published by Bogoras, (Fig. 73), Weiss argues, may have further inspired certain elements of Kandinsky's watercolour.[673] Depicting the sky and lower realms, this picture included semi-circular regions that signify Dawn, Dusk and the darkness of the 'World of Shadows'. All of the regions contain figures as though they are inhabited realms, and Weiss postulates that we can find a definite parallel in the upper left of Kandinsky's work, indeed, it does appear that there is a semi-circular 'inhabited' segment. The indefinite lines that possibly signify the edges of the solar system in the Chukchee illustration also potentially find their counterpart in the numerous hatched streaks and curved lines which dominate Kandinsky's universe. Weiss suggests that Kandinsky further parallels the Chukchee universe in terms of his spiralling, almost concentric compositional arrangement, which breaks the conventional horizontal-vertical schema of traditional painting, to create a realm where the compositional elements of the work may gravitate simultaneously towards the edges and the centre, and seem to vibrate in every direction generating at once a sense of both chaos and balance.[674] On a visual level it seems likely that Kandinsky has borrowed from shamanic iconography in his use of pictographic schemata. If we take this interpretation, then we could

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671 Cf W. Bogoras, (1909). "The Chukchee". In *The Jesup North Pacific Expedition.* (1904-1909), edited by F. Boas. American Museum of Natural History, New York: 312, fig 219.
672 Weiss, (1995): 89-90.
673 Cf Bogoras, (1909): 311, fig 218.
674 Weiss, (1995): 90-2; See for example his works from 1913, such as, *Composition VI, Small Pleasures, Black Lines* and *Composition VII*. Several of the preparatory sketches for these works, in addition to sketches for his engravings of the later Munich period, illustrate this new orientation.

also potentially argue that he has borrowed from shamanic ideology with the conception that by imbuing his work with the qualities of a shamanic drum, it might act as a means of transcendence and communication. Given the apparent psychological intentions of the artist one might argue that it would be the inherent quality of transcendence that most likely attracted Kandinsky to shaman drums and their iconographic schema, for it would allow him to create an archetypal image which would facilitate unconscious access and expression through meditation on the work. However, as has been stated, this interpretation is speculative and unsubstantiated by the artist himself.

In the 1920s, following his appointment at the Bauhaus in 1922, Kandinsky began to adopt a more geometric vocabulary; the circle became a fundamental motif in his art. He used it to signify all other previously established mystical symbols, the horse and rider, and the paradigmatic figure of St George.[675] In 1929 he stated:

> "If, for example, in recent years, I use the circle so often and passionately, the reason (or original reason) for this is not the 'geometric' form of the circle…but rather…the inner power of the circle in its countless variations; I love the circle today as I previously loved, for example, the horse –perhaps more, because I find in the circle more inner possibilities, which is why it has taken the place of the horse."[676]

The circle thus became a means of metamorphosis, for it had subsumed the artist's other symbolic motifs.[677] Jung argues that the circle is a signifier of the Self; it represents the psyche in its totality, for it encompasses the four fundamental functions of the consciousness, thought, intuition, feeling and sensation, which equip man to comprehend and assimilate his impressions and experiences of the world. The circle with its infinite sides symbolises ultimate wholeness, which is why Kandinsky found "more inner possibilities" in it, and its expression in his art is perhaps to act as a Jungian collective archetype to facilitate a holistic consciousness.[678]

Subsequently, in early 1925, Kandinsky began executing a series of what Weiss has termed 'drum' paintings.[679] She argues that these works were both imbued with the apparent mystical power of the circle-come-drum, being produced in an oval shape, and they exemplified the shamanic conception of the drum-skin acting as a cosmogonic diagram of the universe, for the surfaces of Kandinsky's canvases are littered with hieroglyphic pictograms, and are

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675 Weiss, (1995): 151.
676 P. Plaut, (1929). *Die Psychologie der produktiven Persönlichkeit [The Psychology of Productive Personality]*. Enke, Stuttgart: 306-308.
677 C.f. H. Bayer, W. Gropius, & I. Gropius, eds. (1938). *Bauhaus, 1919-1228*. Museum of Modern Art Publications, New York: 196-7; Weiss, (1995): 151-3.
678 Jaffé, (1964): 266-267.
679 Weiss, (1995): 151.

composed in a schema which highlights the cosmological realms of shamanic ideology.[680] Weiss postulates that Kandinsky's series may well have been inspired by the Lapp 'Klemm drum' which he was likely to have seen on his visit in February 1925 to Dresden, for the drum was on display at the Dresden Ethnographic Museum, alongside notable Siberian shamanic artefacts including costumed mannequins and ritualistic drums.[681] [682] The first of Kandinsky's drum series is entitled *Intimate Communication (Oval No. 1)*, (April 1925), (Fig. 74), and Weiss argues that it recalls with striking accuracy the shamanic drum genre, for not only do the muted russet tones and the size and shape of the canvas reflect antique drum skins, but the pictographic iconography and symbols depicted on it also imply their inspiration. In fact, the dimensions of Kandinsky's canvas correspond almost exactly to the Lapp shaman drum which was on display in Munich, and measured 37.5 x 32.9 cm, a size which also equates to several smaller Siberian tribal drums. Weiss argues further that the artist's canvas is divided into segments creating an overall quadrant effect, a device found on many shamanic drum schema to illustrate the divisional realms of the cosmos. Kandinsky further echoes this convention by depicting another divided circle in the upper right quadrant, a potential drum within a drum, a symbol believed to heighten the drum's ecstatic power.[683] Visually it seems likely that Kandinsky is paralleling such conventions, but it important to note that there is no written evidence to show the artist explicitly making these links.

Weiss continues that Kandinsky emphasises the mystical power of the drum with a poignant motif, found in the upper-left quadrant, a triangle radiating with semi-circular lines at

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[680] Weiss, (1995): 128, 151-3; Bowlt, (2013): 42; Bowlt, Misler & Petrova, (2013b).

[681] Mikhailovski, (1895): 146-7 cites Klemm, who documented the drum, G. Klemm, (1844). *Allgemenie Cultur-Geschichte der Menschheit [General Cultural History of Mankind]*. Vol. 3. Teubner, Leipzig; A. Jacobi, (1925). *1876-1925: Fünfzig Jahre Museum für Völkerkunde zu Dresden [1876-1925: Fifty Years of the Museum of Ethnology in Dresden]*. Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde Publications, Berlin; Grohmann reports Kandinsky's visit to Dresden, W. Grohmann, (1958). *Wassily Kandinsky: Life and Work*. H. N. Abrams, New York: 13, 177; also documented by C. Poling, (1983). "Kandinsky: Russia and the Bauhaus Years". In *Kandinsky: Russian and Bauhaus Years, 1915-1933*. Guggenheim Museum Publications, New York: 12-83; c.f. E. Manker, (1938-1950). *Die lappische Zaubertrommel: Eine ethnologische Monographie [The Lapp Magic Drum: An ethnological monograph]*. Bokförlags Aktiebolaget Thule, Stockholm, which catalogues the 29 shaman drums in the Stockholm State Historical Museum at this time; for the Berlin Musuem für Völkerkunde shamanic collection see Unknown, (1908). *Köngliche Museen zu Berlin [Royal Museums of Berlin]*. Museum Catalogue. Berlin; Weiss, (1995): 155.

[682] It is interesting to note, that prior to this series Kandinsky had also executed a number of canvases which were dominated by the oval or drum shape, such as *Composition No. 217 'Grey Oval'* (1917), *Two Ovals*, (1919), and *White Oval* (1919). In the recent exhibition 'The Russian Avant Garde Siberia and the East' (Palazzo Strozzi, Florence, Summer 2013), curated by J. Bowlt and N. Misler, these three images were displayed in conjunction with a Khakas' shaman's drum from the Enisei region which was on display in the St Petersburg Russian Museum of Ethnography at the time, having been acquired in the Aleksandr Adrianov expedition in 1909. The exhibition curators utilised the drum as evidence for the source of Kandinsky's cosmogonic iconography being contact with shamanic cultures. C.f. Bowlt, Misler & Petrova. 2013a; S. Burini, (2013). "Endogenous and Exogenous Appropriations and Expositions in Russia's Visual Culture", In *The Russian Avant-Garde Siberia and the East*, edited by J. Bowlt, N. Misler & E. Petrova. Skira, Florence: 35.

[683] Weiss, (1995): 155.

its tip, placed significantly in the area equated to the higher realm. This motif suggests the resonating tones of the drum, the secret of its ability to facilitate transcendence. She argues that even the title of the painting, *Intimate Communication*, is evocative of a fundamental sound, the magical beat of the drum or the mystical speech of the shaman in ritual, although this seems a stretch.[684] Nina Kandinsky's comment on the work, though, suggests that the 'communication' intended is more personal, she states:

> "In this picture that he painted for me Kandinsky speaks with me and I with him. It is a conversation that is meaningful only to us and that we will take with us in all eternity."[685]

However, the potential shamanic overtones of the work are perhaps more evident when we consider both Jochelson's statement concerning shamanic drums, and Kandinsky's own views about the mystical power of a canvas. For Jochelson writes:

> "…the power of the drum lies in the sounds emitted by it…the sound of the drum, just like the human voice, or song, is in itself considered as something living, capable of influencing the invisible spirits."[686]

Extending such a function to art, Kandinsky advocated that the canvas itself was a dormant 'living being' capable of accessing a spiritual realm, and that it was the artist's responsibility to entice sounds from it by animating the canvas with his art, in just the same way, it is the responsibility of the shaman to 'animate' his drum in order to enlist aid from the spirits.[687] Of course Kandinsky never explicitly links his function for the canvas to the shamanic drum. As we have seen, Jung would argue that this conception was in fact the 'primitive' man projecting his inner motives onto external forces in both the drum itself and the spirits. Kandinsky, by imbuing his canvas with these same properties also outwardly projects his unconscious motivations, a conception that would both strengthen his own psychic facets, and encourage the same capacity from his viewer.

Kandinsky emphasises the higher spiritual nature of the upper cosmological realms by crossing the vertical line at its top with two thinner lines, evocative of Russian or Eastern Orthodox crosses. Due to the assimilation of Christianity into pagan beliefs, Orthodox crosses had become a frequent motif on Siberian and Lapp drum faces, suggesting both Christian church settlements and, somewhat paradoxically, they marked the dwelling place of the highest Lapp pagan deity, Radien, perhaps a symbol of his supreme omnipotence.[688] It is likely that Kandinsky

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[684] Ibid: 156.
[685] N. Kandinsky, (1976). *Kandinsky und ich [Kandinsky and I]*. Kundler, Munich: 216.
[686] Jochelson, (1975).
[687] Kandinsky, (1913a): VI.
[688] Weiss, (1995): 156.

had seen such a convention, for similar crosses are found on the Dresden Lapp drum.[689] Indeed, Kandinsky's conflation of pagan and Christian motifs suggests that he is employing archetypal language. Weiss argues that Kandinsky connects the higher realms of his 'shamanic' cosmos with the lower ones through both a motif which he frequently utilised to signify St George, and with a geometric figure likely to resemble the shaman himself or his guardian-spirit. Jung would argue that this is a visual expression of the connection between the chthonic phenomenal conscious and the noumenal spiritual unconscious, which must be realigned if we are to achieve our psychic potential. In the establishment of a more geometric vocabulary, Kandinsky had begun to schematically represent St George with a prominent diagonal line, frequently stretching across the canvas, as here, symbolic of the lance the saint had used to vanquish the dragon. This he combined with a checkerboard style grid, found here just underneath the horizontal line, which Weiss suggests is emblematic perhaps of the illustriously embellished shaman's cape, for she believes that Kandinsky had equated the figure of St George with a shaman.[690] Such a suggestion she argues is heightened by the fact that the drum of the upper-right quadrant is positioned at the top of the diagonal line, where the shaman would hold the drum aloft and vibrating in ritual. Moreover, as has been said, the diagonal line connects the realms, emphatic of the shaman's transcendent flight.[691] However, this is of course speculative, but does at least suggest the archetypal and psychic capacity that Kandinsky intended from this canvas.

In the left-hand quadrant a more obvious figure is formed from a black trapezium with a triangle for a head, and both straight and curved lines protruding from either side as arms. This figure Weiss states may be a more evident representation of the shaman, who was frequently depicted on drum faces, as he acted as the intermediary between the cosmological realms, or she suggests, it may represent, in combination with the St George/shaman figure on the right, a guardian or master spirit, who had been summoned to aid the shaman on his quest.[692] If we accept this interpretation, it would seem that in this representation Kandinsky depicts a Jungian archetype of transcendence. In the lower realms of Kandinsky's canvas Weiss argues that he also demonstrates shamanic drum conventions, for he depicts three blue triangles linked by a vertical bar, a schematic device, which in Lapp drum schema symbolised mountains, encampments or

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689 For examples of the apparent juxtaposition of Christian and pagan beliefs c.f. Manker, (1938-1950): 51-53.
690 C.f. Weiss, (1995): 139-174.
691 Weiss, (1995): 156.
692 Ibid; Potanin had in fact named such figures as the "master of the drum" or a "shaman ancestor" in Potanin, (1881-1883), IV: pl. X (no. 65), pl. VI (nos. 55, 56); C.f. Jankovics, (1984): 151; L. Potapov, (1968). "Shamans' Drums of Altaic Ethnic Groups". In *Popular Beliefs and Folklore Tradition in Siberia*, edited by V. Diószegi. Curzon, Indiana: 214, 224.

tents.[693] The lower right quadrant contains three thin horizontal lines which mirror the thicker bar of the mountains. In shamanic drums, such floating horizontal straight or curved segments were found anywhere on the drum, and depending on their position would indicate either the noumenal paradise of the upper realm, or the phenomenal reality of the netherworld, for example in Fig. 75.[694] In this canvas it seems likely then that Kandinsky has been inspired by the shamanic drum for he appears to follow a number of shamanic drum conventions, such as its symbolic pictographic schema and evident antique colour and shape. However, there is no direct evidence which proves Kandinsky's shamanic inspirations, so perhaps it is safer to argue that Kandinsky has created a canvas with an intented psychological healing capacity dominated by Jungian archetypal motifs.

In May 1925 Kandinsky executed the second of his 'drum' series, an untitled work which is catalogued as *Oval No.2*, (Fig. 76). The work is characterised by its pale ivory tones with an umber wash over several areas, perhaps suggestive of shamanic decorated deer-skin drums, prominent among the Evenk (Tungus) tribes. The canvas is diametrically split in two by converging thick black straight lines which run vertically across the surface. With branches shooting off from the upper left and right, and crowned by a pair of triangles, the central motif has the appearance of a soaring tree. Weiss points out that such a schema was reminiscent of a Lapp drum recorded by the ethnographer Friis, where a pictographic branching tree motif is also dominant.[695] The depiction of a tree is highly significant in shamanic iconography, for it represents the world-tree, a metaphor for the Jungian passage between the conscious and the unconscious, and is a frequent image on Siberian ritualistic drums. Weiss argues that the ascension function of the tree is implied by Kandinsky's depiction of a leaning ladder at the base of the tree, another motif frequently found in shamanic drum schema, although not an exclusively shamanic motif. The shaman's drum was indissolubly linked to this tree for it was usually made from the sacred wood of the world-tree, and thus the drum itself was imbued with

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[693] The Linné drum also depicts such motifs. This drum was on display in Paris until 1912; it is possible that Kandinsky could have seen it in the Trocadéro there. Subsequently, it was taken to the Stockholm State Historical Museum (until 1933). C.f. Manker, (1938-1950): 698, no. 45; it also appeared in various contemporary publications, for example, F. Weinitz, (1910). "Die lappische Zaubertrommel in Meiningen" ["The Lapp magic drum in Meiningen"]. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie [Journal of Ethnology]*. Vol. 42, No.1: 12.

[694] See Manker, (1938-1950): 217-223 , 447-452 for details on the archaic symbolism behind this motif; Kandinsky had also utilised the motif in several other works e.g. *Circles on Black*, (1921); Kandinsky may have seen this drum when visiting Stockholm's State Historical Museum; it also featured in J. Friis, (1869). "Der Sampo Finnlands und des Lappen Zaubertrommel" ["The Sampo: Finland and the Lapp Magic Drum"]. *Magazin für Literatur, Kunst & Kultur [Magazine of Literature, Art & Culture]*. Vol. 57: 263-265; G. Düben, (1873). *Om Lappland och Lapparne företrädesvis de Svenske. Etnografiska Studier [About Lapland and Lapps particularly the Swede. Ethnographic Studies]*. P. A. Norstedt & söner, Stockholm, among others; C.f. Weiss, (1995): 157 for more information.

[695] Weiss, (1995): 157.

a magical power to facilitate transcendence between the realms.[696] As Eliade states; "By the fact that the shell of his drum is derived from the actual wood of the Cosmic Tree, the shaman, through his drumming, is magically projected into the vicinity of the Tree."[697] A conception that Jung would argue was metaphoric for an outward projection of unconscious motives.

Frequently found among the Siberian illustrations of the world-tree are depictions of 'mythical cradles' which, according to legend, were the places where the first shamans were born and were believed to house the souls of infants before birth.[698] Weiss postulates that on the upper right branch of Kandinsky's tree a rectangular 'cradle' is visible, with a geometric figure poignantly balancing on top of it, perhaps reminiscent of the bird-soul of Altaic and Finno-Ugric mystical belief.[699] The significance of this figure is further pronounced by its potential connection to the pictographic gods found in Lapp drum iconography, particularly the representation of Hora Galles, the highest deity.[700] Weiss argues that there is a remarkable resemblance between the Thor with flying 'primitive' hair, and triangular limbs, found on the drum face documented by Friis, and Kandinsky's deific bird.[701] Further, the mythical legend surrounding the occurrence of a bird-soul in the branches of the world tree was a fundamental part of rituals connected to child-birth and the intense bereavement associated with the loss of the child. Perhaps this image had a personal significance for Kandinsky whose son, Volodia, had died in 1920 at the age of only two. The Nanai (Goldi) tribe believed that, with the shamanising of his drum, a shaman could recover an infant's soul from the world-tree for a bereaved or barren woman. Further, Priklonskii documented that the Sakha (Yakut) ritual to incite fertility in women, was for a shaman to lead the woman to a tree with branches only at its top, and for him to enlist the help

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696 Ibid: 157-9.
697 Eliade, (1964): 169.
698 Weiss, (1995): 157-9.
699 For the mythic symbolism of birds/bird souls inhabiting the empyrean world-tree in Siberian folklore see V. Basilov, (1984). "The Study of Shamanism in Soviet Iconography". In *Shamanism in Eurasia*, edited by M. Hoppál. Edition Herodot, Göttingen: 54; G. Ksenofontov, (1955). "Legenden und Erzählungen von Schamanen bei Jakuten, Burjaten und Tungusen" ["Legends and Stories of Shamans in The Yakuts, Buriats and Tungus"]. In *Schamanengeschichten aus Sibirien [Shamanic Tales from Siberia]*, edited by A. Friedrich & G. Buddress. O. W. Barth-Verlag, Munich: 93-214; A. Smoljak, (1978). "Some Notions of the Human Soul among the Nanais". In *Shamanism in Siberia*, edited by V. Diószegi & M. Hoppál. Akad.Kiado, Budapest: 439 citing P. Shimkevich, (1896-1897). "Nekotorye momenty iz zhizni goldov i sviazanniia s zhizniu sueveriia. Obychai, poveria i predaniia goldov", ["Customs, Beliefs and Some Moments in the Life of the Goldis and the Superstitions among Them: Customs, Beliefs and Traditions of the Goldis"]. *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie [Ethnographic Review]*. Vol. 34, No. 3: 1-20; V. Chernetsov, (1963). "Concepts of the Soul among the Ob Urgians". In *Studies in Siberian Shamanism,* edited by H. Michael. University of Toronto Press, Toronto: 3-45; Karjalainen, (1922): 177. The schematic bird combined with the pictographic world-tree is depicted on numerous Lapp drum-faces, some of which were published by Scheffer, (1674); and Potanin, (1881-1883): pl. VII, no. 57; and pl. VIII (fig. III-6); the drum (F) reproduced by Scheffer (c.f. Manker, (1938-1950): No. 44) was being exhibited in Leipzig at the time; c.f. L. Delaby, (1970). "Figurations sibériennes d'oiseaux à usage religieux" ["Figurations of Siberian birds for religious purposes"]. *Objets et mondes [Objects and Worlds]*. Vol. 10. No. 3: 195-221.
700 Weiss, (1995): 159.
701 Ibid.

of spirits whilst she sat under the celestial tree on a horse hide.[702] Visually it seems that Kandinkys is refernencing such mystical phenomena but it is important to remember that the artist himself never directly makes the link and so this interpretation must only be speculative.

Weiss continues that Kandinsky's use of brilliant blues and reds in the painting reflects the bold, 'primitive' colours of shamanic ritualistic artefacts, such as Tlingit rattles, masks and boxes, which the artist could have seen in the Berlin Ethnographic Museum, especially when combined with distinctive geometric patterns executed in ebony and russet tones.[703] Tlingit iconographic schema frequently abstracted spiritual animals, such as ravens and whales, by creating two-dimensional geometric representations which were then painted onto such artefacts, reminiscent of the large cerulean bird face, with its iconic scarlet beak, protruding from the left of Kandinsky's hieroglyphic 'world tree'. In fact, a Tlingit shaman's dance-headdress, (Fig. 77), found in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in St Petersburg, could potentially be the source of Kandinsky's illustration, for the mask takes the form of a raven's head in brilliant azure and is decorated with umber and black feathered designs.[704] Kandinsky possessed an impressive collection of folk art, which included a small carved wooden bird, likely a sandpiper, with an elongated beak and a prominent round eye, (Fig. 78), similarly paralleling the bird depicted in the painting. This artefact probably came from the artist's excursion to Vologda, the sandpiper being an especially magical bird in Finno-Ugric lore. Its long beak also suggests a woodpecker, a bird whose mysticism conjured thunder and the sacred wood of an oak tree. Here Kandinsky's bird harbours its apparently numinous young in its nest.[705] Thus the painting appears to be impregnated with archetypal symbolism, from the potentially shamanic iconographic schema, which parallels the imagery and stylistic execution of Lapp shamanic drums, to the Siberian and Finno-Ugric mystical legend associated with bird-souls and fertility, Kandinsky's drum seems to radiate with shamanic magic. In this manner Kandinsky has

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[702] Weiss, (1995): 160.

[703] C.f. W. Fitzhugh & A. Crowell, (1988). *Crossroads of Continents: Cultures of Siberia and Alaska*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington: figs. 65, 66, 245, 368, 372, 382.

[704] Weiss, (1995): 160; In 1904 Boas had discussed Tlingit designs, particularly those found on ethnographic artefacts, which he analysed in detail, C.f. F. Boas, (1904-1907). "Notes on Blanket Designs". *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*. Vol. 3, Pt. 4. The Museum, New York; it is likely that Kandinsky read the article W. Krickeberg, (1925). "Malereien auf Ledernen Zeremonial-kleidern der Nordwest Amerikaner" ["Leather paintings on ceremonial dresses of the Northwest Americans"]. *Jahrbuch für Prähistorische und Ethnographische Kunst [Yearbook of Prehistoric and Ethnographic Art]*. W. De Gruyter, Leipzig: 140-150 which analysed the symbolism associated with abstracted animalistic depictions; the Dashkov collections catalogued numerous Tlingit artefacts, but unfortunately several are unspecified which means that it is not possible to be certain that the dance headdress was actually in Berlin, c.f. V. Golitsyn, (1916). ed., *Illiustrirovannyi Putevoditel po Etnograficheskomu Muzeiu [Illustrated Guide to the Ethnographic Museum]*. Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde Publications, Berlin: 22-26.

[705] An analogy was frequently drawn between the repetitive pecking of a woodpecker and the ceremonial drumming of the shaman in rituals to incite rain, c.f. Chernetsov, (1963): 16-17; E. Armstrong, (1970). *The Folklore of Birds: An Enquiry into the Origin and Distribution of Some Magico-Religious Traditions.* Dover Publications, New York: 95-112.

potentially utilised the mythology, imagery and iconography of shamanism as a tool to express Jungian unconscious archetypes which transforms his own canvas into an archetypal image, and permeates it with the power to facilitate psychological healing.

The third of Kandinsky's series, *Whispered*, (1925), (Fig. 79), is more astronomical in nature, swirling with constellations, moons and planets. Weiss poins out that such stellar representations were common among shamanic drum schema, for depictions of the stars and planets had both spiritual connotations and inspired transcendent ascent. Indeed, such a cosmic theme can be found on the Dresden drum, which also utilised small circles to represent stars, or as Klemm argued, a constellation.[706] Although of course, astronomical symbols are not exclusive to shamanism and thus suggest a more archetypal theme of transcendence. Weiss argues that the work contains common shamanic symbolic elements, for example, the cluster of curved lines which descend from the left are evocative of a rainbow, which is mirrored at the bottom left of the arc. As noted above, the rainbow is highly emblematic in shamanism, an *axis mundi*, particularly referenced in Finno-Ugric and Altaic ideology, but again it is a symbol not exclusive to shamanism and thus its appearance is perhaps archetypal.[707] At the top of the rainbow, and on what appears to be a mountain top, perhaps the mystical world-mountain which was referred to interchangeably with the world-tree in folkloric accounts, a small figure is depicted arms outstretched, which Weiss suggests is the shaman at the height of his ascent.[708] Slightly below, two figures float, the larger appears robed and clutches the smaller in his arms, could this perhaps be the shaman retrieving an infant soul from the highest branches of the celestial tree? Further symbolic images include two black triangles on a curve at the lower left, which are potentially evocative of encampments, but here, given their attachment to the world-mountain, may also suggest steps of ascension. These triangles are further paralleled by the large downward pointing triangle at the top centre, perhaps symbolic of Radien's heavenly dwellings, which is emphasised by the five ebony bars standing on the upper right-hand rim, traditionally a place for mystical deific beings. Such a dramatic abstraction as Kandinsky's design, Weiss postulates, is reminiscent of Siberian shamanic drums, which utilised geometric abstraction with a suggestion of a vertical division to imply night and day 'sides'.[709] She states that Kandinsky echoes such a convention with the depiction of tents, a mountain and a rainbow on the left-hand side, while planets and constellations are on the right, most notably the stippled blue planet just off centre

[706] Weiss, (1995): 155-6.
[707] Ibid: 162.
[708] For the world tree/world mountain motif see Potapov, (1968): 226.
[709] Weiss, (1995): 162.

right, which is in the area usually occupied by the deity Peive in Lapp drum schema.[710] Of course such observations can only be speculative given that Weiss provides no direct evidence of Kandinsky himself making these links. Kandinsky's painting is executed in the sombre archaic brown-umber and burnt red sienna tones which mimic the colouring of the Munich Lapp drum, and is depicted in an oval shape, the shape against which, Kandinsky had argued, other geometric shapes resounded with greater transcendental ability, an enhancement of the inherent psychological capacity of his depiction.[711] Here it would appear that Kandinsky echoes the powerful mysticism of shamanic drum conception, creating a work imbued with archetypal transcendent faculties and potential spiritual significance, a means to facilitate ultimate psychological healing.

The final painting of this series, *Lyrical Oval*, (1928), (Fig. 80), Weiss argues, combines all the shamanistic elements of the other three, creating a work which is the culmination of mystical drum expression. Firstly, the canvas is structured in quadrants, a symbol of the divisional realms of the cosmos as seen frequently on Lapp drum schema. She postulates that the dominant vertical equates to the world-tree, with a mystical cradle sheltering infant souls nestled just above the dominant horizontal line.[712] This world-tree evokes the mythic tale of the Minusinsk Tatars, which related that the world-tree was a birch with golden leaves, cascading with a divine regenerative liquid which was captured in a bowl. Weiss suggests that here Kandinsky depicts a pale blue bowl in the upper right magically floating on a detached twig, and into which flows a mystical rainbow, falling from the trunk of the celestial birch which lusciously sprouts golden triangular leaves.[713] The painting's surface is also littered with hanging horizon lines adorned with potential tents, mountains or clouds, while celestial planets, moons, constellations and suns permeate the cosmic sky. The golden yellow of the canvas both potentially implies the spiritual transcendent function of gold in religious icons, and perhaps reflects the synaesthetic connotations of yellow equating to the fanfare of a trumpet. Weiss further argues that even the title of the work has shamanic connotations, alluding to the shamanic potential of the art work, for *Lyrical* was the title of Kandinsky's quintessential depiction of a potentially shamanic horseman ascending the tree tops on his supernatural flight in 1911, whilst, as we have seen, an oval is the shape against which all geometric forms resound with transcendental power. Interestingly, the oval also signified the egg, which was used as a paint binder and diluter by icon painters and was an Orthodox symbol for the origin of the universe, while in shamanic ideology

[710] Ibid: 164.
[711] Ibid: 162.
[712] Ibd: 164.
[713] Holmberg, [Harva] (1938): 72; Holmberg, (1927): 349-360.

it represented the drum and hence the cosmos in its entirety.[714] The conjunction of drum shape and profound mystical symbolism perhaps emphasises the archetypal nature of the work.[715] If we follow Weiss' reading of this series then the works appear to be impregnated with archetypal symbolism and power, for they utilise the schematic language of the magical communication actualised through the shaman's drumming and subsequent mystical flight, and they delineate the expressive parallel between the shamanising ritual of the shaman and the creative process of the artist.[716] However, it is important to bear in mind that Weiss' reading can only be speculative based on a series of visually convincing parallels. Nevertheless, it seems likely that in this series we can see Kandinsky utilising symbolic ideology and imagery as a means to visually express his overarching psychological aim.

Part 2: The Shamanic Voyage

Having invoked the concept of mystical archetypal ritual, the avant-garde, particularly, Larionov and Malevich began to reference the notion of 'travel' to the higher realm, to create works which perhaps allegorically pre-figured Jung's experience of the process to a reunified consciousness. In this the artists were anticipating the necessity for the unconscious expression of 'archetypes of transcendence' in order to facilitate psychological holism. A paradigmatic example is Larionov's series, *An Imaginary Voyage to Turkey* (1911). Larionov would later recall that the Imaginary Voyage series had been initiated by his winning of a grant by the Moscow School of Painting to travel to Turkey. He chose to keep the money instead, and go to Tiraspol where he painted art-works on Turkish themes, as an attempt to convince the school that he had indeed undertaken the journey abroad![717] Hence the reason for the series' title 'Imaginary' Voyage to Turkey, and how it could potentially function as a means of transcendent escapism, for frequently contemporary literature regards the religious or mystical 'soul-journey' as an 'imaginary' or at least hallucinogenic voyage.[718] Some anthropologists consider such a 'soul-journey' to be an internal psychic journey, a notion which would mirror Jung's conception that the 'primitive' 'soul-voyage' acts as an outward expression of an unconscious 'archetype of transcendence', a means to facilitate access to the conscious.

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[714] Bowlt, Misler, & Petrova, (2013a): 302.
[715] Weiss, (1995): 164.
[716] Ibid.
[717] M. Chamot, (1973). "Russian Avant-Garde Graphics". *Apollon*. London. Vol. 98, No. 142: 496; Zdanevich, (1913).
[718] Ridington, & Ridington, (1970): 51; Ripinsky-Naxon, (1993): 113.

Doubtless Larionov was also responding to a wider modernist tradition, that of the search for the exotic, witness Matisse's visit to North Africa.[719] Larionov was working at a point where there had been an upsurge of interest in 'the orient', which led to the publication of travels and ethnographic research into areas considered 'exotic'. In 1909 Kondakov published his *Makedoniia: arkheologicheskii voiazh [Macedonia: An Archaeological Voyage]*, a sequel to his *Arkheologicheskii Puteshestvie v Siriiu i Palestinu [An Archaeological Voyage to Syria and Palestine]*, (1904), works whose readership signified the escalating popularity of ethnography and archaeology among the contemporary Russians, and implied an increasing interest in the escapist notion of a 'voyage' to an unknown exotic reality. In *An Imaginary Voyage to Turkey*, (1911), we can see Larionov referencing Khodankov's travelogues, which indicates his interest in 'exotic' ethnography and archaeology, and anticipates Nochlin's 'Imaginary Orient' conception, by demonstrating his use of oriental imagery in an underlying mystic series.[720] Larionov's interest specifically in Turkish ethnography is evident from his library, which contained Jacob Spon's early eighteenth-century travelogue, in which Spon details his travels in Greece, and most significantly to parts of the Turkish Empire.[721] This book contained a vast amount of archaeological information and lengthy descriptions of the customs and contemporary life of these countries.[722] Again Larionov wants to imbue his work with a complex symbolism which enabled it to attain the universal appeal of Jung's telos, that of psychic equilibrium, under the fundamental guise of the undertaking of a mystical journey.

Such oriental conceptions can be seen most manifestly in the painting *Turkish Lady and Maidservant*, (1911) (Fig. 81). Here Larionov demonstrates his own sophisticated understanding of the 'Orient', whilst exemplifying the fundamental differences which existed between the Russian and the French conception of the opposition between savagery and civilisation, all the while underlying it with potentially archetypal themes .[723] The painting depicts two figures who occupy an ambiguous space identified neither by depth nor boundaries, with the main protagonist, the Turkish lady, positioned in the centre of the canvas. The work's colouration owes a debt to the Fauvist and expressionist qualities of Matisse, defined by a bright, vibrant colour scheme, revolving around the central primary colours blue, yellow and red, and executed in bold 'primitive' brushwork. Its flattened picture space and the crude modelling of human

719 Parton, (1993): 40.
720 Warren, (2013): 22.
721 J. Spon, (1724). *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant fait aux Années 1675 et 1676 [Travel made to Italy, Dalmatia, Greece And The Levant Between The Years 1675 And 1676]*. chez Rutgert Alberts, The Hague. Larionov's copies can be found in his library in the National Art Library, the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
722 Parton, (1993): 97.
723 Warren, (2013): 22.

forms, which are positioned in an arbitrary manner, offer a parody of Matisse. In particular, a connection can be made to Matisse's *Music* which Larionov would have seen in the collection of Shchukin in 1911, for the figures occupy crude postures which parallel those found in Matisse's work.[724]

Although the title implies that the smaller standing figure serves the larger seated one, their class boundaries are obscured by the fact that they both engage in the leisurely activity of smoking. Such a choice is interesting for it rejects fundamental definitions of class, and hence suggests that the subject matter, that of smoking women may have an underlying symbolism. At this time in Russia recreational smoking was commonplace, and the smoking of pychotropic drugs, such as opium, was used to escape or perhaps transcend reality. Jung would subsequently argue that people utilised these drugs to gain greater understanding of their unconscious. Larionov emphasises the ambiguous quality of the piece by the ill-defined rendering of the garments worn, and of the figures themselves, such ambiguity could potentially be evocative of the experience of a drug-induced state. The voluptuous figure of the Turkish lady dominates the picture space as she sits with her right leg crossed under her left, which is extended to the edge of the canvas. She is dressed in a small red hat, red vest covered by an unrefined yellow swath of cloth and similarly undefined black pantaloons. Such lack of clarity in her dress, Warren argues is an invocation of Nochlin's conception of the 'imaginary orient', a signification of Russia's ambivalence to the French-defined mythology of Orientalism, also invoked by Larionov's choice to depict a subject matter which corresponds to artistic conventions of French Oriental artists.[725] [726] The highly simplified and grotesquely distorted portrayal of the women adds to this ambiguity, which reduces the disparity between the figures to the colour of their skin, the light-skinned 'Lady' and the dark-skinned nude of the 'maidservant', again racial conventions taken from French Orientalists.

Larionov linguistically highlights the 'imaginary' conception of this work in his title, An 'Imaginary' Voyage to Turkey, thus resisting any appropriation to the ideology of French Orientalism.[727] However, Larionov's painting is not an entirely failed example of orientalist realism. Instead of portraying faithful naturalistic illusions to Turkish culture, Larionov relied instead on stereotype and imagination, found in the naivety of popular sources on the subject, such as shop signs or illustrated books. Kovtun and Povelikhina argue that Larionov's series

[724] Parton, (1993): 40.
[725] Warren, (2013): 25.
[726] Ibid: 25-6.
[727] Ibid: 26-8.

primarily relates to the popular art of Russian commercial adverts, particularly those of tobacco shops.[728] Such adverts were manifest examples of what Soviet historians have called the 'primitive art' of 'urban folklore.'[729] Prokofiev advocated the importance of the urban 'primitive' as a combination of both professional and folk art, and consequently it embodied the most essential milieu of Russian visual expression in the early twentieth-century.[730] Larionov's use of such sources in this work heightens the symbolism behind the vivid expression of his *oeuvre*. Thus Larionov produces a work which portrays the mythology of the 'Eastern Orient', refracted through the prism of Russian cultural ambivalence.[731] He imbues his work with complex symbolism, taken on the one hand from the Western conventions of modernism and orientalism, and on the other from contemporary urban definitions of Russia's folk primitivism, to create a work of perhaps universal significance, and hence Larionov highlights the transcendent telos of his work, the culmination of his 'imaginary' voyage of the spirit. In this image Larionov appears to anticipate Jung's need to utilise unconscious expression as a means to facilitate a reunified consciousness. For Larionov's image expresses the 'language of the unconscious' in its presentation of 'primitive' traditions, whilst employing the means of Western modernism.

Perhaps the most apparently transcendent aspects of Larionov's work, in connection to this theme, occur in his later pochoirs of the series, entitled *Voyage en Turquie*, which Larionov produced whilst in Paris in 1928, and which reasserts his interest in the mystic-voyage theme.[732] In a preparatory sketch for one of the pochoirs, (Fig. 82), we can see the now frequent motif in Larionov's art, the female mystic. Parton argues that she is a female shaman which is suggested by the fact that she is depicted wearing a long feather headdress, the fact that her eyes are vacant, and hence evoke the trance state, the schematic diagonal strokes of her ritual chant, and the pictographic bird depicted holding a branch of the 'world-tree' in his beak floating just above her

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[728] In E. Kovtun, & A. Povelikhina, (1991). *Russian Painted Shop Signs and Avant Garde Artists*. Aurora Art Publications, Leningrad: 92, Kovtun and Povelikhina link *Turkish Lady and Maidservant* directly with tobacco shop signs, which often featured images of Turks smoking.

[729] In the essay, 'On Urban Visual Folklore', Ostrovskii emphasised that the popular visual expression of the regular urban masses, such as *lubki* or shop signs, was as equally an authentic expression of 'folk' as the image of and depictions by the rural peasant. C.f. G. Ostrovskii, (1974). "O gorodskom izobrazitelnom folklore" ["On Visual Folklore"]. *Sovetskoe iskusstvoznanie [Soviet Art]*. Vol. 74: 299.

[730] V. Prokofiev, (1981). "K problemu primitiva v izobrazitelnom iskusstve" ["On the Problem of the Primitive in Visual Art"]. *Dekorativnoe iskusstva [Decorative Arts]*. Vol. 4, No. 281: 27-29; c.f. Warren, (2013): 25, 29, 31.

[731] Kovtun, (1998): 70.

[732] Collections du Musée National d'Art Moderne. 1995. *Nathalie Gontcharova Michel Larionov*. Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris: 126; C.f. also C. Lodder, (1995). "Review: Goncharova and Larionov". *The Burlington Magazine*. Vol. 137, No. 1110: 640.

left shoulder, symbolic of the tutelary bird-spirit which aids her entrance into ecstatic trance.[733] However, Larionov himself never states that the pochoir was inspired by shamanism, and as we have seen, the depiction of birds and feathers is not exclusive to the shamanic phenomenon, indeed, the feather headdress here could just be hair. The vacant eyes potentially could imply a drug-induced or trance state but they could also suggest sleep, which of course still could be considered a means of transcendence. Perhaps it is more appropriate to argue that the woman symbolises a more generalised mystic figure surrounded by archetypal symbols who engages in a form of escapism. Parton continues that the most significant 'shamanic' work of this series is a pochoir which portrays the artist himself in profile, as he smokes a pipe (Fig. 83). He argues, citing Vitebsky, that smoking is a fundamental part of shamanic ritual practice.[734] However, smoking psychotropic drugs, such as peyote, is exclusively a practise of New World shamanism, and thus Larionov and the Russian avant-garde would not have known about it. Parton states that the fact that Larionov is smoking here, and that his eyes are vacant is evocative of the fact that he has entered the trance-state, further suggested by the abstract white shapes which both emerge from him and seem to conflate with his own face, a visual expression of the metamorphic process. He postulates that the perhaps more specifically shamanic signifiers of the trance are found in the presence of the white bird flying next to his head on the left.[735] It would certainly seem that Larionov has suggested a drug-induced transcendent state in the drawing with the conflation of abstract shapes, but a state induced perhaps more likely by opium, and which utilises archetypal symbols to attempt perhaps to describe the process of unconscious access and expression. Thus Larionov appears to embody the 'archetype of transcendence', perhaps even the Jungian 'shamanic' artist, utilising archetypal language to incite traversal and hence embark upon the 'imaginary' hallucinogenic soul-journey, to transcend phenomenal existence and report back his experience in the folio of drawings. In this manner we can see Larionov creating archetypal images which will potentially facilitate psychological holism.

For Malevich, the allegorical expression of voyaging through the cosmic realms would come in his Suprematist vision. He states, "Our wisdom hastens and strives towards the uncharted abysses of space, seeking a shelter for the night in its gulfs", hence we can see his

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[733] Parton, (1993): 105; Parton finds another 'shamanic' figure in "Woman with Bird", a lithograph dating from 1912-1913, [21.8x16cm]. St. Petersburg: State Russian Museum. It was reproduced in N. Goncharova, & M. Larionov, (1914). *16 risunkov N Goncharovoi i M. Larionov [16 Drawings by M. Larionov and N. Goncharova]*. Privately published, Moscow; C.f. Kovtun, (1987): 50. Perhaps another occurrence of the archetypal mystic.
[734] Vitebsky, (1995): 46; Parton, (1993): 106.
[735] Eliade, (1964): 219, 417; c.f. Parton, (1993): 107.

spiritual aspirations manifested in flight.[736] Certainly, when standing before a Suprematist painting by Malevich, one feels as though he were a traveller, traversing new realms where the conventional properties of humanity's universe cease to exist.[737] For in Suprematism, Malevich found the genuine subject of his art, flight, man's ascent into the boundless propensities of the ether. His infamous text, *The Non-Objective World*, (1920), reveals his inspiration; photographs of aerial views, and aeroplanes flying in formation. The aeroplane was an innovative technology developed during the First World War and the notion of powered flight became an obsession among Russians during this period, subsequently becoming a leitmotif of the 1917 revolution.[738] In his numerous writings Malevich acclaims modern technology as part of his reverence for the Futurist 'cult of the machine'. Conversely, the machine itself, or even its role as an emblem was not of any concern to Malevich. His Suprematist visions of flight are more cosmological in nature, evoking a sense of an interplanetary, extra-terrestrial journey into a future realm which objectifies a higher reality.[739] As such, for Malevich, the work of art became an autonomous world of an essentially spiritual essence. It was formulated like the universe, was connected to it, and consequently entered the cosmic realm as its equal. Therefore Malevich assimilates the pictorial space to cosmic space revealing a new ultimate reality removed from the phenomenal one.[740] In this objective Malevich both references a Jungian 'archetype of transcendence' in his obsession with the aeroplane and flight, and outwardly projects his unconscious onto his canvas in an external realm characterised by its spiritualism.

Malevich articulated 'Aerial Suprematism' in around 1916-18, a strand of Suprematism defined by his aspirations of flight. In such works, for example, his *Suprematist Composition*, (1916-17), (Fig. 84), Malevich appears to profoundly parallel the Jungian conception of the archetypal 'soul journey', for the work is characterised by mystical geometric forms, allegorical of aeroplanes, planets, and aerodynamic lines, which float in an equilibrium defined by the white expanse of the canvas. One of the most prominent elements of this work is a black rectangle which drifts upwards. This device of using an upwards soaring rectangle became known as the

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[736] K. Malevich, (1919a). "O muzeie" ["On the Museum"]. In *K.S. Malevich: Essays on Art 1915-1933*. (1968), edited by T. Andersen, and translated by X. Glowacki-Prus. Vol. 1. Borgen, Copenhagen: 69.
[737] Kokkori and Bouras argue that for Malevich colour and *faktura* were essential in expressing such a sense of traversal, for by utilising a particular combination of the two he could create a specific psychic sensation which the viewer would experience. C.f. M. Kokkori & A. Bouras, (2014). "Charting Modernism: Malevich's Research Tables." In *Malevich*, edited by A. Borchardt-Hume. Tate Publications, London: 167. Indeed, in his *The Principles of Creativity in the Plastic [Visual] Arts: Faktura* (1914) Markov states "it would be a mistake to think that the *faktura* of a work of art is only achieved through the selected material, the method of its treatment, and its composition", and in this he enabled Malevich to utilise both material and immaterial *faktura*. C.f. Markov, (1914): 7.
[738] V. Lobanov, (1930). *Khudozhestvennye gruppirovki za poslednie 25 let [Art Groups of the Last 25 years]*. Obshchestvo AKhR, Moscow: 66-7.
[739] Golding, (2000): 67; J. Golding, (1975). "The Black Square!" *Studio International*. Vol. 189, No. 974: 102-3.
[740] E. Kovtun, (1981). "Kazimir Malevich". *Art Journal*, translated by C. Douglas: 234-241.

'ascending beam', and accentuates the direction of movement, an aspiration to the heavens.[741] The composition of tilting and tipping planes is reminiscent of the aerial view photographs Malevich used to illustrate several of his writings.[742] The work gives the impression of being cramped upon the earth, with the smaller shapes gliding towards the edges of the canvas as if attempting to escape from the boundaries of pictorial space; they appear to be yearning for the heavens.[743] An aspiration Malevich exemplifies:

> "We tear ourselves from earthbound shackles, our motors daily enter the chasms of space; we represent striving and everything on earth should be built in the form of strivings…let wedges cut into the bosom of space."[744]

Thus Malevich references the mystical ascent paradigmatic of the Jungian 'shamanic' soul-journey, the quintessential metaphor of the 'archetype of transcendence'. It is interesting that Malevich chooses to represent the concept of 'striving', an essential aspect of the unconscious' traversal, and his apparent desperation to remove himself from 'earthly' sensations, for it suggests his yearning to apprehend and assimilate his noumenal unconscious.

In this canvas the shapes appear to be organised by underlying proportional ratios and rhythms, which by extension can be applied to the canvas as a whole. As such any group of 'constellations' proliferates into specific arrangements within the all-encompassing harmony of the work, a rhythmic manipulation of the spatial realm equivalent to the cosmic equilibrium of shamanic doctrine, another Jungian metaphor for psychological holism. The forms seem to advance or recede simultaneously, implying the dynamic depth of Malevich's new visual realm, and further, they emerge from an insubstantial ether, evoking the potential of the 'empty' infinite dimension.[745] Consequently Malevich forms a plastic equivalent of the Jungian metaphorical shamanic equilibrium achieved through the flight of the archetypal 'shamanic' artist. He states:

> "(Suprematist) form…is a distant pointer to the aeroplane's flight in space –not by means of motors and not the conquering of space by disruption caused by a clumsy machine of totally catastrophic construction, but by the harmonious introduction of form into natural action, by means of magnetic interrelation in one form."[746]

Malevich emphasises the conception of his works as a means to stimulate a spiritual flight, a flight which takes us into the 'harmonious' realm of his new higher dimension, metaphorical for

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[741] Andersen, (1970a): 30.
[742] Golding, (2000): 67.
[743] Ibid: 74.
[744] K. Malevich, (1918). "Arkhitektura kak poshchechina betono-zhelezu" ["Architecture as a Slap in the Face to Ferro-Concrete"]. In *K.S. Malevich: Essays on Art 1915-1933*. (1968), edited by T. Andersen, and translated by X. Glowacki-Prus. Vol. 1. Borgen, Copenhagen: 64.
[745] Milner, (1996): 163.
[746] Malevich quoted in M. Welish, (1971). "The Spiritual Modernism of Malevich". *Arts Magazine*: 48.

the transcendent access of the unconscious to the conscious, and the outward projection of his unconscious motives.

Malevich's Suprematist series reaches its climax in the work, *Suprematist Composition: White on White,* (1918), (Fig. 85). In this canvas colour has been expunged, we are thrust into a new vision of immateriality, an infinite 'whiteness' which encapsulates the 'pure sensation' of non-objectivity in the dehumanised form of the square, a mediatory portal referenced in the faintest outline.[747] Malevich explained his profound use of white stating: "The blue colour of the sky has been defeated by the Suprematist system, has been broken through and entered white as the real concept of infinity."[748] Having equated white to the boundless space of infinity, Malevich revealed how Suprematism had destroyed the horizons of Renaissance perspective, and hence by escaping these conventions the artist was able to fly into higher dimensions of unlimited potential.[749] Only one year later he would write:

> "What canvas? What do we see represented on it?...a window through which we discover life…blue does not give a true impression of the infinite. The rays of vision are caught in a cupola and cannot penetrate the infinite. The Suprematist infinite white allows the beam to pass on without encountering any limit."[750]

Thus Malevich had resolved all limitations placed on the archetypal 'shamanic' artist on his mystical quest to enter the higher cosmological realms. With the establishment of the white geometric form on the white expanse of the canvas, Malevich had fortified the picture's role as a 'window' through which he can attain the ultimate reality of a higher dimension, he has actualised his potential as a Jungian 'shamanic' artist, and can begin his 'soul-journey' into the heightened abyss. The work encapsulates a corner of the cosmos; a bridge erected conjoining the subconscious with its infinite psychic potential.[751]

Malevich assigns an ultimately psychological telos for his new suprematist vision. For through its non-representationalism, it was able to reach beyond the boundaries of society and culture. As such Suprematism became the ultimate liberating force, for not only did it free art from the object, but it also unfettered humanity from the boundaries of convention. Thus Malevich released his unshackled geometric images into the chasm of infinite space.[752] He states:

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[747] Gray, (1962): 80, 166-7; Jakovljevic, (2004): 19-21.
[748] K. Malevich, (1919b) "Non-Objective, Creation and Suprematism". In *K.S. Malevich: Essays on Art 1915-1933*. 1968, edited by T. Andersen, and translated by X. Glowacki-Prus. Vol. 1. Borgen, Copenhagen: 121.
[749] Milner, (1996): 174, 189; N. Cullinan, (2014). "Colour Masses". In *Malevich*, edited by A. Borchardt-Hume. Tate Publications, London: 120.
[750] Malevich, (1920b): 125.
[751] Gray, (1962): 80, 166-7.
[752] Stupples, (2001): 11, 28-9.

"In the art of Suprematism forms will live, like all living forms of nature. These forms announce that man has gained his equilibrium."[753] Malevich through his use of the 'infinite' white on white, has enabled the Jungian 'shamanic' artist to traverse the cosmological realms, hence facilitating conscious access for his unconscious, and in doing so has broken the frontiers of convention, and subsequently arrived at the actualisation of the psychic equilibrium. He does not act alone, but encourages his disciples to act in his stead, proclaiming: "Sail forth! The white, free chasm, infinity is before us!"[754]

Part 3: Expressing the noumenal realms of the shamanic cosmos

Having utilised their art to transcend phenomenal space, the avant-garde sought to visually express the experience and perception of the unconscious, an outward projection of their unconscious motives, through an artistic representation of numinous cosmological realms. Larionov and Goncharova found such expression in their abstract style, Rayism, which was outlined in four manifestos, and announced in the preface to the catalogue of the *Target Exhibition* in 1913, where the first 'Rayist' works by Goncharova and Larionov were displayed.[755] [756] The Rayist style was founded on a theory of perception which advocated the value and use of purely plastic elements, including colour and texture, to express a material realm which transcended the every-day reality perceived by the human senses, and hence visually represented a manifestation of unconscious motivations. The theory promoted the psychological power of art by expressing 'intangible spatial forms', which had been produced by the intersection of light rays emanating from physical objects to create a canvas which acted as an intermediary, an object which facilitated the viewer to transcend his earthly realm through the psychic power of its expression.[757] *Luchisty i budushchniki. Manifest [Rayists and Futurists: A Manifesto]* declares:

> "A work of art consists of form and colour, and the texture, or surface of a picture - its pictorial timbre - and finally its spirituality - being the sum of all the sensations,

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[753] K. Malevich, (1916a): 38.
[754] Malevich quoted in Andersen, (1970a): 28.
[755] The Four Manifestos are: (a) M. Larionov, (1913a). *Luchizm [Rayism]*. Moscow. (b) M. Larionov, N. Goncharova alongside nine other signatures, (1913). "Luchisty i budushchniki. Manifest" ["Rayists and Futurists. A Manifesto"]. *Oslinyi khvost i Mishen* [*The Donkey's Tail and Target*]. Moscow. In *The Russian Avant Garde: Theory and Criticism 1902-1934*, (1976), edited and translated by J. Bowlt. Viking Press, New York: 87-9 (c) M. Larionov, (1913b). "Luchistskaia zhivopis" ["Rayist Painting"]. *Oslinyi khvost i Mishen [The Donkey's Tail and Target]*. Moscow. In *The Russian Avant Garde: Theory and Criticism 1902-1934*, (1976), edited and translated by J. Bowlt. Viking Press, New York: 91-100; (d) M. Larionov, (1914a). "Le Rayonnisme Pictural" ["Pictorial Rayism"]. *Montjoie!* (Paris) No. 4. In *The Russian Avant Garde: Theory and Criticism 1902-1934*, (1976), edited and translated by J. Bowlt. Viking Press, New York: 100-102.
[756] Chamot, (1979): 12; Compton, (1981): 344.
[757] Parton, (2010): 203; C. Douglas, (1975). "The New Russian Art and Italian Futurism," *Art Journal,* Vol. 34, No. 3: 232-3.

> experienced as a result of contemplating the canvas. The creative artist should bear each one of these elements in mind. As the spectator never sees the actual object, but only the sum of those rays which reach his eyes, it follows that the artist should paint that which lies between him and the object. The fact that these rays are invisible is immaterial, since art is based as much on what the artist knows, as on what he sees."[758]

This quote exemplifies the psychic power the Rayist artist placed on the plastic elements of a painting whose combination created a 'spiritual realm'. It is interesting that the spectator is unable to see genuine reality, and that it is the duty of the artist to paint 'what lies between him and the object'. The artist, who has used his craft to develop his psychic facets, particularly his intuition, has the capacity to outwardly express his unconscious motivations, and to create a canvas which functions as an archetypal image. Rayism imbued the artist with a seemingly shamanic persona, for it is the shaman that must embark on his soul-journey, utilising all ritualistic elements at his disposal, and it is his duty to convey his experience to the spectator, in order to facilitate healing and cosmic equilibrium, the 'spiritual realm' which the canvas expresses.

There were two phases in the development of the Rayist aesthetic, firstly 'realistic-Rayism', in which there remained some vestiges of the object, and subsequently, 'pneumo-Rayism', where the artist broke into purely non-objective canvases.[759] Goncharova's work in the 'realistic-Rayist' style centred on the image of the forest, for example, *Brown and Yellow Forest*, (1913), (Fig. 86). It is significant that Goncharova chose nature, and particularly the forest, as her subject matter to express the means by which to transcend this realm, for nature is fundamental in eastern mysticism. It is the the locus for many animistic religions, a source of contemplation for Buddhism, and for shamanic ideologies, trees in particular were symbolic of an *axis mundi.* [760] Ritualistic artefacts utilised to facilitate spiritual or prophetic voyages were frequently made from the wood of sacred trees to imbue them with power, a practice Goncharova perhaps emulates here with her depiction of trees as the means by which to facilitate transcendence.[761] Nature is not only important in the east but also in European and Theosophical mysticisms. The Romantics had advocated the view that nature contained a spiritual mysticism which could

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[758] M. Larionov, N. Goncharova, et al. (1913). "Luchisty i budushchniki. Manifest" ["Rayists and Futurists: A Manifesto"]. *Oslinyi Khvost i Mishen* [*Donkey's Tail and Target*], In *The Russian Avant Garde: Theory and Criticism 1902-1934*, (1976), edited and translated by J. Bowlt. Viking Press, New York: 87-89.
[759] Parton, (2010): 203-4; M. Chamot, (1955). "The Early Work of Goncharova and Larionov". *The Burlington Magazine.* Vol. 97, No. 627: 173.
[760] L. Bäckman & A. Hultkrantz, eds., (1978). *Studies in Lapp Shamanism*: *Stockholm Studies in Comparative Religion*. Almqvist & Wiksell International, Stockholm: 14; Lewis, (2003): 74; MacLellan, (1999): 25. 27.
[761] M. Eliade, (1958). *Patterns in Comparative Religion*. Sheed & Ward, New York: 379ff; M. Eliade, (1954). *The Myth of the Eternal Return.* Routledge & Kegan Paul, London: 76ff.

redeem the soul of modern man.[762] As Baudelaire states; "In Nature's temple living pillars rise, which speak to us in words of abstruse sense, we walk through woods of symbols, dark and dense, that gaze at us with fond familiar eyes."[763] Modern mystical writers, such as Ouspensky, maintained nature's power as a means to transcend into a metaphysical reality. He advocates that the 'soul of the forest' demonstrates how the noumenal realm of the spirit is continually present in the phenomenal realm of material existence.[764] A conception which Jung advocates, he argues that the unconscious utilises the archaic spiritual language of nature in its conscious expression to reassert the fundamental connection between man and nature. The philosopher Pavel Florensky advocated that the forest was "a four-dimensional form that is expressed in duration."[765] It would seem then that Goncharova's utilisation of nature reflects the need for a universal spiritual practice, a genuine expression of a Jungian collective archetype.[766] Thus Goncharova's Rayist forest acts as an expression of the unconscious, for not only does she depict symbolic iconography, and utilise it for its archetypal function, but she also conveys the experience of transcendence itself, by representing elements from the material world which have been deprived of their individuality, and are instead fused into an abstract visual equilibrium through the psychological use of ray lines.

Goncharova also executed works in the 'pneumo-Rayist' style, for example, *Rayist Perception in Brown and Blue*, (1913), (Fig. 87), where she dissolves her visual representation of the forest into a welter of inter-connecting lines, thereby liberating the expressive functions of line, colour and texture from their conventional mimetic roles.[767] The aim of the non-objective Rayist aesthetic was deeper than merely celebrating autonomous plastic elements; it aimed to evoke the sensation of a mystical higher dimension.[768] As stated in *Le Rayonisme Pictural [Pictorial Rayism],* (1914):

> "The particular and continuous existence of the coloured mass in rayonist painting forms a synthesis in the mind of the spectator, which transcends the limits of time and space. The famous fourth dimension appears, since the length and breadth and the density of

[762] Parton, (2010): 214.
[763] C. Baudelaire, *Correspondences*, which was first published in: C. Baudelaire, (1857). *Fleurs du Mal [Flowers of Evil]*. Schena, Paris.
[764] Ouspensky, (1922): ch XVII.
[765] P. Florensky, (1923). "Analysis of Space in the Artistic Work," quoted from Bowlt, Misler & Petrova, (2013a): 267.
[766] Fedorova, (2013): 73-77; Romanova, (2013): 80-85.
[767] Parton, (2010): 206-9.
[768] Ibid: 210.

> the superimposition of the colours are the only signs of the visible world, all the other sensations produced by an image belong to another order - to the super-real order."[769]

Larionov postulates that the psychological qualities of the Rayist aesthetic enable the spectator to transcend his phenomenal realm and enter a higher noumenal one, the 'fourth dimension', a Jungian metaphor for the manifestation of the unconscious. The 'super' reality of the fourth dimension is reminiscent of the sensation of the unconscious, and metaphorically represents the fulfilment of the psychic Self through the reunification of the consciousness.

The 'fourth dimension' was a popular topic among both mathematicians and mystics during the period. The mathematician Charles Howard Hinton argued that the 'fourth dimension' was a 'real' space, which lay at a right-angle to our apparent three-dimensional reality, believing that he could mathematically prove its existence.[770] Mystics and philosophers, such as Petr Ouspensky and Claude Bragdon, imbued the conception with a Theosophical angle, arguing that the fourth dimension acted as an 'ultimate reality', a place accessible only to those with a heightened intuition, where the enigmas of humanity could be both understood and resolved, a more Jungian interpretation, for it suggests the reunification of the consciousness and the actualisation of man's psychic Self.[771] It was this more spiritual conception which Goncharova and Larionov wished to evoke with their Rayist canvases. Larionov's Rayist works, such as *Red and Blue Rayism*, (1912-13), (Fig. 88), are characteristic of his evocation of the noumenal fourth dimension. Larionov believed that the sensation of the fourth dimension could be induced by art works which appeared 'slippery', or hard to penetrate. *Luchistskaia zhivopis [Rayist Painting]* states:

> "The picture appears slippery; it imparts a sensation of the extratemporal, of the spatial. In it arises the sensation of what could be called the fourth dimension, because its length, breadth and density of the layer of paint are the only signs of the outside world-all the sensations that arise from the picture are of a different order."[772]

Thus the sensation of the fourth dimension would transcend our conventional experience of time and three-dimensional space. As such, the depiction of the fourth dimension should create a 'synthesis image', whereby everything is ultimately unified, on the canvas, a manifestation of the unconscious. In *Red and Blue Rayism*, (Fig. 88), we get a pictorial expression of such a

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[769] M. Larionov, (1914a). "Le Rayonnisme Pictural" ["Pictorial Rayism"]. *Montjoie!* (Paris) No. 4. In *The Russian Avant Garde: Theory and Criticism 1902-1934*, (1976), edited and translated by J. Bowlt. Viking Press, New York: 100-102.
[770] C.f. C. Hinton, (1888). *A New Era of Thought*. S. Sonnenschein & Company, New York; Hinton, (1904); H. Manning, (1910). *The Fourth Dimension Simply Explained: A collection of essays from those submitted in 'The Scientific American's' prize competition*. S. Sonnenschein & Company, New York.
[771] Parton, (2010): 210.
[772] M. Larionov, (1913b): 91.

phenomenon, for the 'ray lines' which splinter the canvas, are evocative of three-dimensional objects, mere fragments of the underlying fourth-dimensional unity. These fragments are subsumed by the over-riding colour masses which shift and slide as though in intense dynamic movement. Consequently, there is nothing by which we can orient ourselves in connection to what we see and to which we can apply conventional three-dimensional space logic.[773] We are plunged into a world where we are forced to confront the immediacy of the canvas, we have transcended conventional reality and entered a 'higher' realm, in a state of perpetual flux and are compounded by its psychological atmosphere.[774] It is as though we are Ouspensky's 'superman', or the Jungian neophyte shaman, having experienced a flash of 'cosmic consciousness', and are poised terrified on the brink of perceiving, whilst simultaneously experiencing, the fourth-dimensional realm.[775] Metaphorical of the sensation man might feel when encountering the manifestation of his unconscious for the first time.

Larionov enhanced the psychological impact of the painting, by creating highly charged tensions through the emotive relationships between certain colours; here the sharp vibrancy of the red is contrasted with the cold depth of the blue. This gave the plastic qualities of the work a sense of being 'alive', and an ability to evoke feelings of harmony or disharmony, calm or restlessness that previously had only been assigned to music.[776] Larionov declared:

> "The sensation a colour can arouse, the emotion it can express is greater or lesser in proportion as its depth on the surface plane increases or decreases…Hitherto this law has been applicable only to music, but it is incontestable also with regard to painting: colours have a timbre that changes according to the quality of their vibrations, that is, of their density and loudness…So we are dealing with painting that is dedicated to the domination of colour, to the study of the resonances deriving from the pure orchestration of its timbres."[777]

In *Red and Blue Rayism* with its swirling inter-penetrating rays and colour waves we are subsumed into the fourth-dimensional realm and experience the outward manifestation of the artist's unconscious. Colour was fundamental to Goncharova's expression, she states:

> "…colours have a strange magical quality. There are sad colours and gay colours, sweet harmonies, calm colours…Colours affect the mentality, they are closely linked to a state

[773] Parton, (1983): 301.
[774] Parton, (1993): 120, 134; Kovtun, (1998): 135.
[775] Parton, (1983): 301.
[776] M. Dabrowski, (1975). "The Formulation and Development of Rayonism". *Art Journal*. Vol. 34, No. 3: 201-2; Compton, (1981): 344.
[777] Larionov, (1914a): 100-102.

> of mind or of morality, towards which they can direct a person and at the same time they express an atmosphere, an environment."[778]

Goncharova expresses the psychological power of colours, how they can be utilised to affect the state of mind of the viewer and to express 'an environment', the fourth dimension. Larionov would later advocate the mystical undertones of his Rayist aesthetic, stating:

> "Rayism tends to find the possibility of explaining not only philosophically and psychologically, but also physically the phenomena of ecstasy and of aesthetic pleasure before a stroke of colour."[779]

This statement, although written after the main Rayist manifestos, highlights the underlying mystical aim of Larionov's modern aesthetic. Goncharova and Larionov invite the spectator to contemplate their Rayist canvases, that they might undergo a transcendental experience, reminiscent of the Jungian 'shamanic' soul journey, and hence apprehend and assimilate 'archetypes of transcendence'. Consequently, they are able to enter a higher noumenal reality, the manifestation of the unconscious, through the psychological power of the formal qualities of the art.

It is interesting that Benois would argue that Goncharova was an active perpetrator of social change through her 'clairvoyant vision', her inherent ability to perceive a reality beyond material existence and to reveal its essence through her work, for it is the intuitive vision of Jung's metaphorical shaman which enables him to embark upon his soul journey and thus perceive and assimilate his unconscious.[780] Propert declares:

> "...possibly, a Rayonnist, like a Medium, is born and not made. However, that may be, we must be grateful to this pair of visionaries for the many things of beauty (on the lower plane) that they have set before our untrained eyes, we wait patiently and cheerfully for the day when we too shall be counted among the illuminati."[781]

Propert not only compares the Rayist artist to a 'Medium', such as a shaman, but he also stresses the speciality of the artist's vision, an individual with heightened perception, whilst also advocating the wish to acquire such an ability.

Such clairvoyant vision is apparent in the artists' works depicting transparency, for example, Goncharova's *Still Life with Bottle, Jar of Fruit and Fish*, (1913), (Fig. 89). In this work the apricots are rendered transparent allowing their stones to be clearly visible. The pellucidity of the

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[778] N. Goncharova, (1979). "The Metamorphoses of the Ballet Les Noces". *Leonardo*. Vol 12: 141.
[779] M. Larionov, (1963). "A Propos of Rayism". *Letter to Alfred Barr*, translated by A. Parton: 1 (transcript).
[780] E. Stark, (1914). "Nataliia Goncharova". *Peterburgskii kurer [The Petersburg Courier]*. No. 71: 4.
[781] W. Propert, (1921).*The Russian Ballet in Western Europe 1909-1920*. The Bodley Head, London: 43-5.

forms in Larionov's *Red and Blue Rayism*, (Fig. 88), are also evocative of this paradigm. When Goncharova exhibited her *Still Life* at the Target show, she described it as being inspired by Ivan Firsov's theory of transparency. There is little documentation about Firsov's theory but it may have been based on the contemporary scientific development of X-rays, radioactive and ultraviolet rays, which were then being popularised.[782] Ouspensky advocated that when one viewed the three-dimensional world from a four-dimensional perspective it would appear transparent, hence its utilisation here is evocative of the artist's 'clairvoyant sight', a conception perhaps scientifically proven by the discovery of X-ray technology.[783] With this Larionov and Goncharova had formulated an aesthetic which transcends conventional time and space, for the confused conflation of transparent forms represent the fourth-dimensional nodes of space, while the state of perpetual flux demonstrates that the work is devoid of time. In the fourth dimension time would not exist, for time was in fact our incorrect assessment of four-dimensional movement upon our three-dimensional constrictions of space.[784] Thus, in the fourth-dimensional realm, "Moments of different epochs, divided by great intervals of time, exist simultaneously, and may touch one another."[785] Such a concept Larionov and Goncharova had clearly advocated in their development of Neo-Primitivism, where they had declared that it was a misapprehension to view beauty and spiritual values in art as subject to the limitations of time.[786] The importance placed on 'timelessness' is a further anticipation of Jung's unconscious need to express timeless universal archetypes which would communicate with the conscious facets and facilitate psychic reunification. Consequently, Larionov and Goncharova created the ultimate unconscious expression, through the depiction of the analogous experience of the fourth-dimension. Moreover, they appear to have embodied the role of Ouspensky's shamanic 'superman', through their heightened perceptual awareness, emotional intensity, clairvoyant vision, and subsequent visual expression of the fourth dimension.

The apprehension and actualisation of the fourth dimension was also fundamental to Filonov. His art of the late teens and early twenties demonstrates a radical formulisation of his ideals, an expression of his route to equilibrium or unconscious manifestation solidified on the canvas. As we have seen, evoking the fourth dimension in one's art required that the artist begin to portray the true nature of reality, i.e. its unconscious motivations. In order to penetrate and

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[782] I. Tonta, (1898). *Raggi di Rontgen e loro pratiche applicazioni [X- rays and their practical applications]*. Hoepli, Milan. This book is now located in the Larionov collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
[783] Parton, (1983): 300-2; Parton, (1993): 136-7; Parton, (2010): 218.
[784] Parton, (1983): 301.
[785] Ouspensky, (1922): 268.
[786] Parton, (1993): 134.

subsequently depict the essence of the world, he must work on the progression of the human psyche, for the attainment of this phenomenon was reliant on the artist's acquisition of a higher state of consciousness.[787] Once this was achieved, Ouspensky states; "Art anticipates a psychic evolution and divines its future forms."[788] Such an understanding of accessing the fourth dimension, and the significance placed on it, were of profound importance to Filonov's artistic language. For, as we have seen, he argued that a heightened intuition through persistent work was the highest form of consciousness, and the only means by which to transubstantiate impressions of the inner life processes of an object into its outer formal expression.[789] One of the most profound demonstrations of this is in his *Heads* series. In these works Filonov illustrates a Kantian expression, whereby the noumenal realm of the mind acts as a means to access and understand phenomenal processes. Such an understanding can be considered metaphorical to the canvas itself, for in just the same way that the bounds of the mind are the means by which the phenomenal realm can be understood, so the bounds of the canvas are the means by which it can be expressed, and thus the mind must be developed to its fullest extent so that the canvas can have the greatest expression.

If we examine two works from the series, the watercolour, *Heads* (1924), (Fig. 90), and the painting *Heads (Man in the World)* (1925-6), (Fig. 91), we can see two differing but complimentary styles, in which Filonov juxtaposes phenomenal reality with noumenal unconscious interpretation, occurring on a plane where physiognomical analysis converges with physiological expression.[790] In *Heads* (1924), (Fig. 90), images of phantasmal heads are surrounded by numerous cell-like shapes. The cells and their inner components consume the apparitional heads, swirling to the edges of the canvas creating a dense spatial realm emanating a veritable vitality.[791] The evolutionary process of Filonov's heads advances via their pictorial, physiological and structural decay to a primal cellular state, a microscopic vision of reality.[792] Thus Filonov illustrates his transcendence into a higher unconscious realm; the mind, having achieved the ultimate state of perception, identifies the underlying morphological processes of matter, and expresses them with telescopic precision, so as to have understood the true essence of reality, the fourth dimension. Filonov in his vision of Heads undertakes his Jungian 'shamanic'

[787] Indeed, the *Soiuz molodezhi* anthology published articles about Ouspensky's conceptions concerning the fourth dimension, thus fourth-dimensional theory would have formed a significant part of Filonov's intellectual context, c.f. Howard, (1992): 122, 179.
[788] Ouspensky, (1922): 73.
[789] Bowlt, (1975b): 282.
[790] Bowlt, (1983): 329.
[791] Douglas, (1984): 158.
[792] Misler, (2006): 41-3.

quest, and creates a veritable unconscious realm on the canvas. Interestingly the manner in which Filonov depicts the cellular structures is perhaps reminiscent of the pictographic depictions on shamanic drum faces. Unfortunately we have no direct evidence that Filonov was in fact inspired by shamanism, so all we can argue for is conjecture, but if he were to have used such a schema it would have potentially psychological consequences. For in shamanism the drum face acted as a canvas to express the ecstatic soul-journey, and since the drum was also the means by which the shaman accessed the other cosmological realms it acted as a micro-cosmic 'portal'. The symbolic pictorial expression on the drum facilitated the ecstatic state, in much the same way Filonov's artistic language facilitates his access to the fourth-dimension. Such iconography can certainly be called primitive, and so perhaps we can argue that Filonov is utilising a pre-figured Jungian archetypal expression as a way to visually express the psychological motivations of his art.

In *Heads (Man in the World)* (1925-6), (Fig. 91), we can see the development of Filonov's treatment of heads. The canvas is swarming with geometric subcellular fragments, overwhelming the now largely indiscernible heads, which are animated with organic forms, so that they form one part of the whole ubiquitous realm of vital material.[793] Filonov forms a visual expression of our cerebral chemistry whose bio-dynamic processes connect it with all external matter.[794] The depiction of the eyes morphed into empty orbits teeming with micro-organisms, further accentuates the ultimate interconnection of reality.[795] Filonov's contemporary Spandikov visually describes the sensation of entering the fourth dimension with a collation of images that are reminiscent of the ecstatic state experienced when taking hallucinogenic drugs.[796] As we have seen, the recreational smoking of psychotropic drugs was frequently utilised in this period as the means of transcendent escapism. Such an ecstatic sensation is evocative of the chaotic order rendered in the composition of this canvas, for the work employs a crystalline landscape, in which Filonov simultaneously renders refraction and transparency in a realm of geometric and conceptual decomposition. Filonov's utilisation of crystalline forms may well have had a further subtle underlying symbolism, for the crystal was considered an emblem of supreme purity, a liberator from death and thus an allusion of eternity, and yet when one attempts to see the world through a crystal it is rendered immaterial and transparent.[797] As such, it was the perfect medium for the visual expression of perception, for it simultaneously embodied the initial visual

[793] Douglas, (1984): 158.
[794] Bowlt, (1975b): 291.
[795] Misler, (2006): 43.
[796] E. Spandikov, (1913). "Labarint iskusstva" ["The Labyrinth of Art"]. *Soiuz molodezhi [Union of Youth]*. No. 3: 6-10; Howard, (1992): 170.
[797] Misler, (2006): 43.

perception of the 'seeing' eye, and the subsequent heightened perception of the 'knowing' eye, and hence here Filonov's portrayal of the heads are apparently etched into the transparent polyhedral forms of crystals. Thus Filonov visually expresses the experience of the Jungian psychic transition of states, and the ascension into higher cosmological realms where the unconscious motivations can be apprehended and assimilated by a reunified consciousness. It was in this underlying psychic manner that Filonov successfully answered the question raised by Matiushin –"How can one depict the whole of mankind by the face?"[798]

Filonov took the expression of the psychic fourth dimension further by creating canvases which were metaphorical to cosmological realms. He did this by utilising innovative concepts found in the contemporary resurgence of vitalism to build the dimension of evolutionary time into his work. Such a renewal of interest came from the popularisation of Darwin's evolutionary theories, which led to further neo-vitalist reformulations. The biological paradigm was attractive to the Russian avant-garde for it suggested the confluence of a scientific objective system with the immediate vitality of the natural world. It verified the escapist ideal of transcendence, and hence the access and expression of unconscious motivations, via the utilisation of supremely rational means. The vision of a world in a continuous state of evolution had a fundamental impact on the visual arts, as for the artist to express true unconscious reality he must achieve a Heraclitan visual expression, whereby the static canvas became an object in flux.[799]

Filonov was an advocator of this new aesthetic, in his attempt to reach a heightened state of perception he strove to produce a work of art pulsating with vitality. The canvas became allegorical to a fertile organism.[800] He promotes a new expression of artistic realism, stating:

> "'Realism' is a scholastic abstraction of only two of the object's predicates: form and colour.... My principle activates all the predicates of the object and of its orbit: its own

[798] Quoted from L. Diakonitsyn, (1966). *Ideinye protivorechiia v estetike russkoi zhivopisi konsta 19 –nachala 20 vv [The idea of contradictions in the aesthetics of Russian painting of the late 19th-early 20th century]*. University of Perm, Perm: 181; c.f. Bowlt, (1973b): 34.

[799] Heraclites was a pre-Socratic philosopher who is known for his belief that there is ever-present change in the universe. His most famous example is the idea that since everything is in flux no man can ever step in the same river twice. Filonov was further inspired by Goethe's 'morphological concept', which advocated that there was an inherent inner form of matter that pre-determined its outer expression, a conception that had gained currency in Russia during this period, both as a primary source and through contemporary adaptations. In addition, images of cells, specifically their internal structure, and how they divided and multiplied during organic growth, were now represented in the popular press, and thus for the first time, since discovering the process, were accessible to contemporary artists, such as Filonov. The neovitalists also advocated that Darwin's evolutionary processes should not be regarded under the conventional, sequential conception of time, but rather took a branching, simultaneous chronology. Thus the entirety of nature, both organic and inorganic, should be viewed as a holistic, evolving organism, and, consequently, both matter and spirit should be deemed as two sides of the same coin. C.f. Douglas, (1984): 153-4; E. Levy, (1996). "Contemporary Art and the Genetic Code: New Models and Methods of Representation". *Art Journal*. Vol. 55, No. 1: 21.

[800] Bowlt, (1975b): 284.

> reality, its own emanations, interfusions, geneses, processes in colour and form-in short, life as a whole. My principle presupposes the orbit not as a mere space, but as a biodynamic entity in which the object exists in a continuous emanation and interfusion, in which the reality of the object and its orbit is eternally forming and transforming its coloristic and formal content and its processes."[801]

Filonov's innovative aesthetic would express reality in all its evolutionary stages, creating profound works teeming with vitality and developed intuitive perception.

Having established this visionary sense of expressing reality evolving, Filonov advocates that the 'made' painting once started would continuously grow as if in flux. The principle of 'madeness' therefore, simultaneously embodied a finite and yet infinite condition: for technical precision induced subsequent evolutionary growth, a concept that Filonov termed 'Universal Flowering':[802]

> "[Universal Flowering] activates all the predicates of the object and its sphere: its existence, its pulsation and sphere, its biodynamics, intellect, emanations, insertions, geneses, colour and form processed –in brief, life as a whole."[803]

We can see the importance Filonov placed on the understanding of true reality, and the necessity of its expression in art. He further promotes the depiction of 'vital forms':

> "The object must grow and develop atom by atom just as logically, just as organically as the process of growth is achieved in nature..."[804]

In doing this the artist would create an 'atomistic link' between all the elements of his work, and create an organic totality reflective of the evolutionary processes of nature.[805] We can see that Filonov was fundamentally concerned with the eschatological and biological interpretation of the imminent transformations of reality.[806] But the main question which remains is how these cosmic concerns could be translated to the visual expression of the artist's canvas.

The work *Formula of the Cosmos* (1918-19) (Fig. 92) visually manifests Filonov's aesthetic theories surrounding the importance of evolutionary reality. When viewing the work, one is immediately struck by its multitudinous faceted forms depicted with practically invisible brush-strokes emblematic of the individual atoms of an object, the scintillating effects of colour vibrating from a rich prismatic surface, and the uncanny way in which a unified vision organically

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[801] P. Filonov, (1923b). "Deklaratsiia 'Mirovogo iskusstva'" ["Declaration 'World of Art']. *Zhizn iskusstva [The Life of Art]*. No. 20: 13-14; c.f. Bowlt, (1975a): 211.
[802] Bowlt, (1983): 15; Bowlt, (1975a): 208.
[803] P. Filonov, (1923c). "Declaration of 'Universal Flowering'". In *Pavel Filonov: A Hero and his Fate*, (1983), edited by J. Bowlt, and N. Misler. Silvergirl, Inc., Hong Kong: 170.
[804] Anikieva, (1983): 60.
[805] Anikieva, (1983): 60; Douglas, (1984): 157.
[806] Bowlt, (1973b): 31; Bowlt, (1975a): 208.

evolves from the complete disintegration of pictorial texture.[807] The canvas becomes an active allegory of the concept of life in a constant state of flux. Filonov achieves this illusion of evolution through the calculated position of 'atoms' of colour pulsating on the picture's surface, they constantly morph in shape and spectral composition, and the canvas exemplifies the microscopic process of total organic evolution, and is itself engulfed by this realm, becoming incarnate.[808] Such an expression perhaps pre-figures Jung's experience of a reuinifed consciousness, for Filonov has utilised the biological paradigm to achieve an 'altered-state-of-consciousness', through the depiction of reality in all its dimensions, and has created a cosmological realm, entered via this heightened conscious state, for the canvas itself embodies the processes it represents.

Filonov sought to express the dimension of time in his paintings so that they could transcend the traditional function of art as a static two-dimensional phenomenon, and could be evocative of a cosmological realm. He states:

> "The concept of time in painting derives from the concept of active, dynamic [form]…The drawing of form and the drawing by form is form made and developed to its upmost degree of intensity and atomistic consistency so that its three-dimensional volumetric significance and its special gravity are revealed in all its varieties…Realise the object by knowing its inner workings, by experiencing its content analytically, i.e. the known or presupposed essence or meaning of the object (in its interaction with many [other] independent objects and phenomena), i.e. what is called provisionally the formula of its content."[809]

The title of the work *Formula of the Cosmos* is significant, for it visually demonstrates the 'formula of its content' i.e. the cosmos. Through the multi-dimensionality of Filonov's picture surface, fragmented and yet inter-fused with the telescopic representation of organic evolution, the artist was able to convey time in an innovative way. He abandons conventional, temporal sequences of narrative progression for a simultaneous union of past, present and future exploding from the surface of the canvas, evocative of the German concept *ein Nahtbild*, whereby the action of the painting is brought to the surface so closely that it appears to fall into our own external reality, illustrating the intimate boundaries between incongruent realms.[810] It demonstrates perhaps the intimate connection between the conscious and unconscious facets of the consciousness if only we can train our conscious to apprehend and assimilate unconscious motivations. Such multi-dimensionality also expresses three-dimensional space. Looking at objects from a multitude of

[807] Milner-Gulland, (1983): 22; Bowlt, (1973b): 30.
[808] Bowlt, (1975a): 212.
[809] Filonov, (1923a): 146-7.
[810] Bowlt, (1975b): 284-285; Goldstein, (1989): 587.

angles allowed Filonov to convey the pictorial depth of an interactive, spatial realm in which the artist and the viewers were participants, a way of bringing the unconscious motivations into the conscious perception of the viewer and training his psyche to perceive, comprehend and assimilate them.[811]

The technique with which Filonov executes his work is evocative of the evolutionary process, and consequently, the passage of time. Filonov largely rejected the conventional concept of overall composition when producing his art, preferring rather to work minutely and precisely from one corner of the canvas through to the opposite one, so that the piece would evolve and grow in the same way as natural phenomena. As such, each brush-stroke was ultimately realised in the visual perpetuum expressed by the canvas.[812] In the same way that natural life progresses within a continuum, so Filonov frequently worked on an individual piece for prolonged periods, often reworking elements over years. Thus the canvas could evolve organically and atomically and the artist himself could exert a cerebral control over this process.[813] This is more significant when we consider the importance placed on the development of intellectual intuition as the means by which the altered conscious state and the transcended realm could be achieved. Filonov extended this visual metaphor to encompass his whole *oeuvre*. He considered all his works as "links in a chain," no individual piece should be taken as a separate item from the collective whole.[814] This explains Filonov's refusal to sell his art, advocating instead a museum where he could display the entirety of his creations in collective unity.[815]

Formula of the Cosmos (1918-19), (Fig. 92), depicts a microcosmic expression of the macrocosm of life and its intimate processes. He not only depicts the diversity of life's processes, and the interweaving and interconnection of its multitudinous facets through the juxtaposition of its numerous microworlds, but also having disintegrated the world, metaphorically seen in the fragmented quality of the picture space, he 'biologically' reconstructed and synthesised it, to create a painting which might portray the harmonious unity of the universe.[816] This sense of universality is apprehended by one's intuition, for the intense energy pulsating from each element of the canvas is communicated on both a visual and an intellectual level. The visual expression

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[811] Bowlt, (1983): 17.
[812] V. Alfonsov, (1966). *Slova i kraski [Words and Paints]*. Iskusstvo, Moscow: 185; c.f. Goldstein, (1989): 586; Milner-Gulland, (1983): 22; N. Misler, (1983b). "A Note of the Manuscript". In *Pavel Filonov: A Hero and his Fate,* edited by J. Bowlt, & N. Misler. Silvergirl, Inc., Hong Kong: 109.
[813] Misler, (1983b): 111.
[814] Y. Khalaminsky, (1970). "Shkola Filonova" ["The School of Filonov"]. *Evgenii Kibrik*. Izobrazitelnoe iskusstvo, Moscow: 14.
[815] N. Misler, 1983b): 111.
[816] Goldstein, (1989): 587, 590; Buzina, (2006): 52.

of individual micro-worlds is intuited into the convergence of all natural phenomena both seen and unseen. Thus the prismatic expression of the most minute atomical processes, infinitesimal moments of existence, are paradigmatic parts of the whole, and act as a microcosmic expression of the infinite macrocosm of reality.[817] These processes evoke the macrocosmic reality, and the canvas itself, as a living organism, acts as a microcosm of the reality it inhabits. This conception of microcosmic expression appears to be an anticipation of Jung's need to utilise a 'microcosmic' unconscious expression for the 'macrocosmic' experience of the reunified consciousness. *Formula of the Cosmos* (1918-19) can be seen as an emblematic expression of Jungian ideology, creating a cosmological unconscious realm, through the expression of three-dimensional space juxtaposed with fourth-dimensional time, and the manner in which it is executed is emblematic of the transitory state of the unconscious as it is apprehended and assimilated into the conscious. It is an expression of psychic equilibrium, achieved through the intuitive analysis of the work, and through the utilisation of microcosmic portals.

Kandinsky redefined the traditional static form of painting, requiring that this two-dimensional medium might have the third dimension of depth and regression, and the fourth dimension of time through optical suggestions of movement.[818] In *Rückblicke,* Kandinsky stated his desire to make any spectator of his work "'stroll' within the picture, forcing him to become absorbed in the picture, forgetful of himself."[819] Kandinsky believed that the differing thickness of line, the arrangement of diverse forms on the canvas surface, and the layering of one form either on top of or merging into another, could produce a sense of spatial extension that would give his works a third dimension by a specific application of colour.[820] Kandinsky clarifies this in his *Cologne lecture*, citing *Composition II,* (Fig. 30), as an example.[821] He states:

> "Thus, e.g., in Composition 2 I mitigated the tragic element in the composition and drawing, by means of more indifferent and [totally] indifferent colours. Or I sought involuntarily to juxtapose the tragic [use of] colour with sublimity of linear form...The colours...lie as if upon one and the same plane, while their inner weights are different. Thus the collaboration of different spheres entered into my pictures of its own accord. By this means I also avoided the element of flatness in painting...This difference between the inner planes gave my pictures a depth that more than compensated for the earlier, perspective depth."[822]

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[817] Goldstein, (1989): 586.
[818] C. Van-Campen, (1999). "Artistic and Psychological Experiments with Synesthesia". *Leonardo*, Vol. 32, No. 1: 11; Turchin, (2008): 28-30.
[819] Kandinsky, (1913a): 369.
[820] Dabrowski, (1995): 27.
[821] W. Kandinsky, (1914). "Kandinsky über seine Entwicklung" ["Kandinsky's Cologne Lecture"]. In *Kandinsky: Complete Writings on Art*. (1982), edited by K. Lindsay & P. Vergo. G. K. Hall, Boston: 395-6.
[822] Ibid: 397.

From this quote, it is evident that Kandinsky manipulates the formal elements of painting to generate a specific psychological effect. He communicates the paradoxical duality between matter and spirit, utilising his pictorial objects to access the spirit, a metaphor of the unconscious. He avoids the ornamental by creating a compositional balance between the top and the bottom of the work, and by distributing the weight of his varying components through specific combinations of forms and colours to produce the effect of pictorial depth and yet harmonious equilibrium. This can be seen in colour arrangement of *Composition II,* (Fig. 30); the upper section is dominated by red, black, and yellow, which is then balanced by his use of green, blue, and white, in the lower section, creating a psychological impact based on colour interactions which can be seen to equate to that which he discusses in *Über das Geistige in der Kunst.*[823] *Composition II* acts as a primary statement about the deep expressive qualities of colour combinations, whose psychic impact and structure is enhanced by linear components, generating a sense of compositional depth and equilibrium, and highlighting Kandinsky's belief that the basic pictorial elements must act as the principal vehicles of artistic expression, the fundamental means of facilitating psychological healing in the spectator.[824]

Kandinsky aimed to achieve pictorial works that could embody the duration of time of a musical composition. To introduce the dimension of succession into the picture, and to allow specific colours to reveal themselves in the course of time, thereby increasing the dramatic psychic power of their sounds.[825] He created works that are difficult to view in terms of static representation.[826] Kandinsky was influenced in this by Endell, who outlined a psychological theory in which different lines evoke certain effects.[827] Length or shortness of lines are embodiments of time; thickness and thinness, embodiments of tension. He argued that a viewer observes a line successively, thus a line suggests the passage of time.[828] In *Punkt und Linie zu Fläche* (1926) Kandinsky asserted:

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[823] Dabrowski, (1995): 28.
[824] Ibid: 29.
[825] B. Haas, (2006). "Syntax". In *Kandinsky: The Path to Abstraction,* edited by H. Fischer, & S. Rainbird. Tate Publications, London: 186.
[826] A. Ione, & C. Tyler, (2004). "Neuroscience, History and the Arts: Synesthesia: Is F-sharp Coloured Violet?" Journal of the History of the Neurosciences. Vol. 13, No. 1: 62.
[827] August Endell, (1871-1925), was a psychologist whose essay *Formenschönheit und dekorative Kunst [Beauty of Form and Decorative Art]* (1897) promoted abstraction through its correlation to music, going further to advocate that lines could have specific psychological effects. C.f. W. Frisch, (2005). *German Modernism: Music and the Arts*. University of California Press, Oakland: 113-114.
[828] W. Frisch, (1990). "Music and Jugendstil". *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 17, No. 1: 144-5.

> "…length is a durational concept…the time required to follow a straight line is different from the time to follow a curved line even if the lengths are the same."[829]

He wrote "music can on occasions dispense with extension of time, and painting make use of it."[830] Thus Kandinsky began to imbue his work with both depth and time, enabling his work to become in effect a metaphorical cosmological world, an outward projection of the unconscious.

Interestingly, Kandinsky makes an analogy between the experiences of 'rebirth' or the formation of 'worlds' to art:[831]

> "Painting is like a thundering collision of different worlds that are destined in and through conflict to create a new world called the work. Technically, every work of art comes into being in the same way as the cosmos –by means of catastrophes, which ultimately create out of the cacophony of the various instruments that symphony we call the music of the spheres. The creation of the work of art is the creation of the world."[832]

In this statement we can see Kandinsky's attempt to create more than a mere two-dimensional art medium to express his artistic ideology, but a whole cosmic realm in order that the painting may be a means of communication and transcendence. It may at once become an archetypal image and reverse the crisis of psychic dislocation. Through his ability to imbue his art with the feeling of depth and regression, and of the duration of time, Kandinsky allows his work to become a psychic experience. He creates his own cosmological realm through the art work. For the viewer, having seen the work, is psychologically affected by its form and colour and falls into an internal psychic trance, whereby he transcends this 'conscious' realm and enters another 'unconscious' cosmological realm.

Having visually represented a sense of ecstatic transcendence and the perception of unconscious cosmological realms, the avant-garde began to utilise syncretic media to more manifestly create the experience of cosmic noumena, a powerful holistic expression of the unconscious and its capacity to stimulate psychological holism. The avant-garde found this syncretism in the medium of theatre, which would draw out the performative aspect of their art.[833] Kandinsky was most interested in Wagner's concept of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, or total art work, uniting language, music and the visual arts.[834] Kandinsky sought to investigate the common

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[829] W. Kandinsky, (1979). *Punkt und Linie zu Fläche [Point and Line to Plane]*. Translated by H. Dearstyne & H. Rebay. Dover Publications, New York. Originally published in 1926 in Munich: 98.
[830] Kandinsky, (2006): 42 n.1.
[831] Weiss, (1995): 79.
[832] Kandinsky, (1913a): 373.
[833] Interestingly, some scholars argue that the shamanic ritual can have a particularly dramatic side, c.f. I. Lewis, (1971). *Ecstatic Religion: A Study of Shamanism and Spirit Possession*. John Hopkins Press, London; T. Kim & M. Hoppàl, (eds.,) (1995). *Shamanism in Performing Arts*. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.
[834] Dabrowski, (2003): 82; Dabrowski, (1995): 19-20.

source of all the arts, and the connection between one kind of art and another, he wanted to break down the barriers between visual cultures, and to synthesise the arts.[835] [836] For in creating a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, Kandinsky could metaphorically reference the psychic cosmic equilibrium of his art work. He asserted; "the possibility of, and the need for, the appearance of a monumental art...[which] represents the unification of all the arts in a single work."[837] In this search for a 'total art work' Kandinsky went beyond the medium of painting. Perhaps his greatest expression of a *Gesamtkunstwerk* occurs in his stage composition *Der Gelbe Klang [The Yellow Sound],* (1912), which acts as a culmination of his ideas about the psychological impact of colour, sound and language, in a work with the overall visual and audible impact of psychic transcendence.[838] In the introductory scene Weiss argues that Kandinsky seems to refer to the experience of shamanic trance:

> "...the giants' very deep singing without words becomes audible (pianissimo)...Quickly from left to right fly vague red creatures, somewhat suggesting birds...This flight is reflected by the music. The giants continue to sing, more and more softly, becoming more and more indistinct. The hill at the rear grows slowly and becomes paler and paler. Finally white. The sky turns completely black. Backstage the same wooden chorus becomes audible. The giants can no longer be heard....A thick blue fog completely obscures the stage."[839]

Weiss postulates that in this scene the giants are reminiscent of shamans, for when the shaman prepared for a shamanic ceremony he often became 'giant-like' in his ritualistic costume. The giants deep singing 'without words' is evocative of a shamanic chant used to stimulate trance. However, Kandinsky himself never explicitly states that shamanism inspired this play and so one can only really argue that there are some potential shamanic parallels. He could in fact just be describing a dream, fairy tale or fantasy story where giants are frequently characteristic. In scene two Kandinsky refers to characters speaking "as if in ecstasy", with one voice crying out "Kalasimunafacola!" subsequently in scene three.[840] As we have seen, the experience of being mysteriously endowed with the ability to speak words in strange tongues that sound nonsensical is frequently found in the ritualistic practises of both pagan and religious phenomena. This ability

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[835] J. Hahl-Koch, (1984). "Kandinsky and Schoenberg". In *Arnold Schoenberg-Wassily Kandinsky: Letters Pictures and Documents,* edited by J. Hahl-Koch and translated by J. Crawford. Faber & Faber, London: 150.
[836] S. Behr, (2006). "Kandinsky, Münter and Creative Partnership" In *Kandinsky: The Path to Abstraction,* edited by H. Fischer, & S. Rainbird. Tate Publications, London: 93.
[837] W. Kandinsky, (1910a). "Form and Content". In *The Documents of 20th Century Art: The Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism 1902-1934*. 1976, edited by J. Bowlt. Viking Press, New York: 21.
[838] G. Zinman, (2011). "Machines that Make Yellow Sounds: The Legacy of Kandinsky's Light". Paper presented at The Blue Rider: Centenary Symposium, Tate Modern, London, November 25-26.
[839] W. Kandinsky, (1912f). "Der Gelbe Klang" ["The Yellow Sound"]. In *Almananc Der Blaue Reiter*, edited by W. Kandinsky & F. Marc. Piper, Munich: 213-4.
[840] Ibid: 217, 219.

to 'speak in tongues', Jung argued, was the practitioner momentarily becoming overpowered by his unconscious and expressing it directly in words which were initially incomprehensible to the conscious. Weiss continues that the bird flight described is suggestive of the shaman entering his trance. We see the act of transcendence itself as her 'shamans' are no longer heard, but their chant is continued by their chorus, and the stage is enveloped in a blue fog, reminiscent, she argues, of the spectators participating in the shamanic ceremony, and the experience of trance under the influence of psychedelic drugs. In scene two, Kandinsky reinforces this notion with the phrase "The people move slowly to the front of the stage as if in a trance."[841] But, as we have seen birds and bird flight as well as the experience of ecstatic trance are not exclusive to shamanism, and perhaps suggest a Jungian archetypal expression to stimulate the apprehension and assimilation of the unconscious.

Weiss argues further that Kandinsky seems to assign shamanic roles to several of his protagonists. She evidences this by considering Buriat literature which speaks of both "black" and "white" shamans, the black shaman connected to evil events and actions, while the white shaman radiates benevolence.[842] In scene four, a large man "dressed entirely in black" appears on stage opposite a small boy in white who rings a bell with a rope.[843] Weiss connects this to shamanism by arguing that ubiquitous in shamanic literature is the account of the dramatic and dangerous battles leading often to death which occur between black and white shamans.[844] In this instance it appears that the black shaman is victorious over the white, for he is represented by a 'large' man, whereas the white shaman is a 'small boy', and he shouts "Silence!!" which causes the white child to drop the rope and the scene to become dark as if in death.[845] Nevertheless, in scene five, a 'white dancer' unexpectedly draws the entire attention of the scene, and thus Weiss states, perhaps the white shaman survives his attack in the previous scene, emphasising his survival in a poignant 'shamanic' dance as the play draws to a close. However, as has been stated, Kandinsky never explicitly connects his play to the shamanic phenomenon and so Weiss' interpretation can only be speculative and unsubstantiated. Perhaps it is safer to argue, given that the symbolism of black/white duality is deeply and widely potent outside of shamanism too, that Kandinsky is formulating an archetypal expression. In this work then Kandinsky appears to embody the notion of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* which he charges with a pre-

[841] Kandinsky, (1912f): 218.
[842] Vitebsky, (1995): 25.
[843] Weiss, (1987): 206-7.
[844] E. Novik, (1997). "The Archaic Epic and its Relationship to Ritual". In *Shamanic Worlds: Rituals and Lore of Siberia and Central Asia*, edited by M. Balzer. Routledge, New York: 214; Weiss, (1987): 206-7.
[845] Kandinsky, (1912f): 220.

figured Jungian meaning, both with its overall experience as a ritualistic transcendent trance, and with archetypal language. He utilises symbolic vocabulary as a means to visually express his unconscious motivations through the medium of theatre, so that he might facilitate the apprehension and assimilation of the unconscious by the conscious.

Perhaps the culmination of Malevich's expression of transcendent archetypes and unconscious sensation can be found in the Cubo-Futurist opera, *Pobeda nad solntsem* (1913).[846] A collaborative venture between himself, Matiushin, Kruchenykh and Khlebnikov, formulated at the Futurist Congress in Uusikirkko, 18th -20th July 1913. It united contemporary innovations in both art and literature forming a colourful spectacle reminiscent of ritualistic ecstatic trance.[847] In retrospect, Malevich would place great significance on the opera as the origins of his Suprematist vision.[848] There were two performances of it, which took place on the 3rd and the 5th December 1913 at the Luna Park Theatre in St Petersburg.[849] The opera's kernel is the capture and overcoming of the sun. This notion had profound symbolism for as Matiushin states:

> "[The sun] is understood to be the creator and the symbol of everything visible . . . giving objects the illusion of reality. It is Apollo, the god of rationality and clarity, the light of logic and thus the arch-enemy of all bards of the future."[850]

Consequently, the sun is symbolic of the phenomenal conscious realm and its conventional logic, and hence by overcoming and capturing it, the protagonists can bring about the noumenal unconscious realm of higher intuition and 'trans-rational' logic, an aim which Matiushin here clarifies is central to his future vision. The sun, given its essential role in marking day, night, years and seasons, is symbolic of the concept of conventional time. To fulfil 'victory over the sun' is to formulate a new notion of time un-reliant on the rhythms of the sun. Such a conception is reminiscent of the fourth dimension, where past, present and future meld together, and the passage of time is merely the result of perception. The opera's telos was the attainment of a higher noumenal realm, the outward projection of the unconscious, a place whose achievement

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[846] C.f. Khlebnikov, V., Kruchenykh, A., Matiushin, M., & Malevich, K. 1913. *Pobeda nad solntsem [Victory over the Sun]*. EUY, St Petersburg.

[847] The opera acted as a culmination of autonomy and self-sufficiency in the visual arts, music and poetry, an apotheosis of art "as such". At the time the opera was critically received with indignation among the critics and violence among the initial audience. C.f. M. Chlenova, (2014). "Language, Space and Abstraction". In *Malevich*, edited by A. Borchardt-Hume. Tate Publications, London: 66.

[848] As Malevich states to Matiushin: "The decoration shows a black square, the embryo of all possibilities, which in the course of its development acquired a terrible power", c.f. Kovtun, (1971): 177-84; Stupples, (2001): 24; Borchardt-Hume, (2014): 24.

[849] Milner, (1996): 89; Douglas, (1994): 17.

[850] M Matiushin, (1914). "Futurizm v Peterburge" ["Futurism in St. Petersburg"]. *Futuristy. Pervyi zhurnal russkikh futuristov [Futurists. The first magazine Russian Futurists]*. Vol. 1-2. Moscow: 156.

was made manifest by the inclusion of Jungian archetypes in the form of a 'time-traveller', and an 'aviator', whose passages did not depend on solar rhythms.[851] Hence, when victory is achieved; "…there is no/sun, no stars…/The era of the new beginning has dawned."[852] Thus the opera has a distinctly Jungian mission, a 'soul journey' to a higher cosmological realm, escaping and essentially healing the problems of the old order.

Written in Kruchenykh's trans-rational *zaum*, composed in Matiushin's quarter-tone music, and illustrated by Malevich's deliberately geometric schema to further illuminate the opera's attainment of higher realms, it is comprised of two movements.[853] The first, containing four scenes, concerns the formative feature of the opera, the capture of the sun. The second, containing two scenes, concerns 'Country Ten', an imaginative locus in future time after the sun has been destroyed, the unconscious manifestation. The protagonists are representative of one-dimensional personifications of certain qualities whose connections centralise the opera's telos. They include, a Time Traveller, (Fig. 93), who can traverse the realms of time with ease, two Futurist Strongmen, symbolic 'bards of the future', (Fig. 94 & 95), a fused Nero-Caligula, an embodiment of past ideals, a Fat Man, symbolic of the 'every-day' man, and the victorious Aviator, the metaphorical Jungian 'shamanic' artist, the paradigmatic archetype of transcendence. The characters interact with unconnected monologues, which largely address the audience rather than stimulate motivated action between them.[854]

The opera begins with Khlebnikov's prologue, a largely untranslatable milieu of ambiguity and pun, based on a *zaum* manipulation of the basic elements of Russian language. It expresses the opera's apparently Jungian theme, time-travel, magic and reincarnation, all Jungian archetypes. He speaks through the Budetyane, a 'Future-Dweller', proclaiming that the protagonists will lead the audience into a dream of the future. Following this, the Futurist Strongmen, (Fig. 94 & 95), appear declaring, "All's well that begins well and will have no end". They proclaim their aim to capture the sun by throwing a 'dustsheet' over it, and confining it in a 'concrete-house'.[855] Then, the fused Nero-Caligula appears, swiftly followed by the Time Traveller, (Fig. 93), whose ability to traverse the Centuries with ease 'on aeroplane wheels,' is reflected by his costume which is littered with papers containing the different ages.[856] The two

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[851] Milner, (1996): 90; Golding, (2000): 64, 67; Kovtun, (1981): 235- 236.
[852] "Kor re rezh…" manuscript, c. 1915, Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam. In *The Artist, Infinity, Suprematism, (Unpublished Writings 1913-33).* (1978), edited by T. Andersen. Borgen, Copenhagen: 30.
[853] Compton, (1976): 580.
[854] Douglas, (1994): 17-20; Crone, (1978): 40.
[855] Bartos, & Kirby, (1979): 109.
[856] Ibid.

figures are ultimately contrasted by their appeals, Nero-Caligula is a representation of the past and its conventional logic, whilst the Time Traveller, reminiscent of Khlebnikov's Ka, embodies flight and new dimensions.[857] Scene two culminates in the capture of the sun and the occurrence of an eclipse: "The sun has hidden and darkness has fallen". At the same time the Aviator's 'iron bird' arrives on the scene. Consequently, we see the end of the old logic, symbolically referenced in nihilistic darkness, the emptiness of which became a portal for the infinite possibilities of the noumenal unconscious realm, the access to which is expressed through the journey of the Aviator and his celebrated 'iron bird.'[858] Following this, the sun is buried by Pallbearers, (Fig. 96), who wear symbolic black squares on their sleeves and torsos. The infamous black square, an emblem emphasised by its larger depiction on the backdrop of the set, in the centre middle, is symbolic of the eclipse of the sun, and hence the demise of the old logic, and humanity's escape from rationalised convention into higher unconscious dimensions of space and time. The final scene of this movement depicts the defeated sun in the midst of calculations, which reflect Khlebnikov's arithmetical analysis of history and cosmology's underlying rhythms. With the ultimate capture of the sun, conventional passages of time, day and night, no longer exist, and the audience and protagonists are ascended into the darkness of the noumenal unconscious realm.

The second act begins with the depiction of the new era, inside the 'Future-Dweller's' house in 'Country Ten'. The protagonists and the audience have been liberated from causality, rationality and time, being now part of a higher dimension. The introduction to this new realm is characteristically uncomfortable, reminiscent of the shocking and confusing experience of the fourth dimension for people used to the limitations of three-dimensional logic. A conception which Jung argues characterises man's attempt at realigning his consciousness. Malevich masterfully portrays this new understanding of space through an illogical assemblage of stairs, chimneys, and windows, reflecting the bewildering sensation of entering the noumenal unconscious realm, (Fig. 97).[859] Here "liberated from the weight of the earth's gravitation, we whimsically arrange our belongings as if a rich kingdom is moving."[860] Amidst this perplexing atmosphere, the Fat Man, evocative of the 'every-day' individual, awakens bewildered and confined. Then, with the roar of propellers, a young man enters singing a "frightened vulgar song", which consists of *zaum* sounds and bizarre surrealist images. Suddenly the Aviator flies in and crashes his plane onto the stage. He appears undisturbed and unharmed, for he is the

[857] Milner, (1996): 91-3.
[858] Bartos, & Kirby, (1979): 115.
[859] Milner, (1996): 95-96, 98; Stupples, (2001): 23-4; Golding, (1975): 102.
[860] Bartos, & Kirby, (1979): 119.

messiah of new unconscious realms, a paradigmatic 'archetype of transcendence' and hence one liberated from the constraints of gravity. He is reminiscent of the Jungian 'shamanic' artist and so sings his trans-sense song, seemingly about a vehement break-through of ascension from the earth to the stars.[861] The Futurist Strongmen, (Fig. 94 & 95), draw the opera to a close with language similar to the way it began: "All's well that begins well and has no end. The world will die but for us there is no end."[862] Thus the opera expresses, with apparent ecstatic mysticism, the Jungian soul-journey of the artist who enters the higher noumenal realm of perception, the actualisation of our psychic potential.

Malevich's set designs and costumes for *Pobeda nad solntsem* are no longer extant, though his preparatory designs still exist. These employ Cubo-Futurist devices to create an atmosphere of spatial disorientation and profound confusion, particularly when the protagonists entered the future noumenal realm of the Tenth Country. Such a sensation can be evidenced in the set-design for the Future Dweller's house, (Fig. 97), in which indications of objects from both inside and outside of the house have been conflated in a highly schematic manner, so that the viewers, just as the Fat Man, are enveloped in the confusing parallel realm of the fourth dimension, a visual expression of the incomprehensible expression of the unconscious. The structure of the house is reminiscent of Ouspensky's fourth-dimensional cube, a metaphorical object he used to express the transitional sensation felt when entering the higher dimension of intuitive reality.[863] Malevich's costume designs are largely based on symbolic geometric shapes. One of the designs for the Futurist Strongmen, (Fig. 94), is composed almost entirely from cones. This costume is reminiscent of the apocalyptic figure depicted on the front-cover of the anthology *Troe*, (Fig. 98), perhaps symbolic of the prophetic, mystical, nature of the artist.[864] Malevich also created several designs where the protagonists have playing-card emblems for heads, metaphorical players in a game of psychic dimensions. Another design for the Futurist Strongmen shows them depicted with the head of an uncharacteristically red suit of clubs, (Fig. 95), whilst the Turkish Warrior is embodied by the suit of diamonds, (Fig. 99) and another Warrior has a spade for a head, (Fig. 100). The depiction of warrior protagonists with card-suit emblems was profoundly significant, for it references the rising international tensions preceding the First World War, and it appears to

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[861] Such a performance may suggest that the Aviator was in fact based upon Vasily Kamensky, the poet who was closely connected to Maiakovsky and David Burliuk in this period, through the performance of his 'Futurist poetry', and who had managed to survive two air crashes previously. Indeed, a lecture given by Kamensky at around this time was entitled: "Aeroplanes and the Poetry of the Futurists."

[862] Bartos, & Kirby, (1979): 123-4; c.f. Milner, (1996): 95-96, 98; Stupples, (2001): 23-4; Sherwin Simons, (1978), III: 127.

[863] Douglas, (1994): 17-20.

[864] Ibid.

draft Khlebnikov's mathematical analysis of historical rhythms onto Ouspensky's symbolism behind the game of tarot.[865]

Malevich's contribution to *Pobeda nad solntsem* was not limited to set and costume designs, but he also utilised novel lighting procedures, incorporating light itself, the focal point of the text, into his visual presentation.[866] Livshits' describes the atmospheric effect thus:

> "Out of the primal night the tentacles of the projectors snatched part of first one and then another object and, saturating it with colour, brought it to life ... The innovation and originality of Malevich's device consisted first of all in the use of light as a principle which creates form, which legitimises the existence of a thing in space."[867]

Malevich utilised the spotlights to isolate particular sections of his set designs, formulating the illusion that they receded or advanced into the surrounding space. He conflated real and created space, encapsulating the characteristic element of the new unconscious dimension, the 'merging of time and space', thus animating the whole stage composition.[868] *Pobeda nad solntsem* becomes the ultimate *gesamkunstwerk* of Futurist theatre. By utilising trans-rational language, quarter-tone music, symbolic design and lighting effects, the collaborators of the opera were able to create a profound expression of the experience of transcending the phenomenal conscious world of 'everyday' rational values and logic, entering the higher dimension of unconscious noumenal intuitive reality, through the atmospheric embodiment of an ecstatic trance.

Goncharova on the other hand was attracted to the medium of ballet in which her work could 'come to life' on the stage. Stage design presented her with new artistic challenges, it guaranteed an audience, and it enabled her to work on an inter-disciplinary project which might best encourage social change, for she could infiltrate the arts with the power of her aesthetic.[869] Goncharova's major contribution as a stage designer was effected through Diaghilev's *Ballets Russes*. Diaghilev and his dancers, artists and musicians revolutionised the concept of 'the ballet', on account of the colourful achievement of their objectives, and the fact that Diaghilev was not afraid to break conventions. Diaghilev worked in the vein of the World of Art aesthetic, which advocated that artistic beauty was a powerful force that could incite psychic change and should be liberated from the prejudiced dictates of contemporary realism. He was fascinated by the Wagnerian concept of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, and believed that theatre was the holistic medium that could achieve such a united conception. He was a primary advocate of the symbolist

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[865] Milner, (1996): 90.
[866] Stupples, (2001): 24.
[867] Livshits, (1933): 187-8.
[868] Douglas, (1994): 17-20; Milner, (1996): 90.
[869] Parton, (2010): 12.

dimension, which emphasised the artist as seer, the mystery of his or her creation, and the fundamental theurgic nature of art. Thus he was attracted to modern concepts of design which were based on past cultures, and the importance of artistic synthesism.[870] A pre-figured Jungian conception for it utilised the archetypal properties of an artistic language inspired by 'primitive' mysticism to create a universal medium, which could act as an outward projection of the unconscious. It was in this context and enticed by these aims that Goncharova entered the Ballet Russes.

A genuine expression of the holism of the Ballet Russes can be found in Goncharova's contribution to *Le Oiseu de Feu [Firebird]* (1926).[871] The original version of the ballet was written and performed in 1910 with costumes and sets by Golovine and Léon Bakst.[872] In the 1920s Diaghilev wished to revive the ballet, regarding the original costumes and sets as old-fashioned, and commissioned Goncharova to redesign them. Her new designs were innovative and inspired by folk and archaic Russian sources.[873] With music by Stravinsky and choreography by Fokine, the ballet relates a distinctly mystical plot. Based on the fairy-tales of Pushkin, it tells the story of the Tsarevich Ivan who captures a bird with flaming plumage whilst hunting in a forest. Unable to resist the bird's appeal for freedom he releases his captive accepting a magical golden feather as a token of gratitude. Just as the firebird flies away Ivan is warned of the forest's enchantment by a group of beautiful maidens. They tell him to flee for fear of being petrified by the evil Koschei, the ruling 'green-eyed' ogre, but having been captivated by the beauty and grace of one of the maidens, Ivan refuses to leave. Suddenly the stage falls into darkness and the terrifying retinue of evil monster-followers of Koschei descend upon Ivan. After a prolonged struggle, Ivan calls upon the Firebird for aid via the magic feather, and through the mystical power of the bird, Koschei's followers are forced to dance ecstatically until they fall into a trance-induced sleep. Overcome by exhaustion, they die, breaking the powers of Koschei. Meanwhile, Ivan discovers a large decorated egg containing the ogre's soul which he destroys killing Koschei. Consequently, he frees the captive princesses, marries the maiden and lives happily ever after.[874] The tale is shrouded in 'primitive' mysticism for it is rife with mythical magic and transformation. Such a tale, Jung would argue, expresses the theory of archetypes, through the

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[870] J. Bowlt, (1987). "Stage Design and the Ballets Russes". *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts*. Vol. 5. Russian/Soviet Theme Issue: 28-9; for more information on Diaghilev c.f. S. Scheijen, (2010). "Diaghilev the Man". In *Diaghilev and the Golden Age of the Ballet Russes 1909-1929*, edited by J. Pritchard. H. N. Abrams, London: 33-49.
[871] F. Gilliam, (1924). "Natalie Gontcharova and the New Art Decoratif". *The Arts*. Brooklyn: 29.
[872] J. Bowlt, (2010). "Léon Bakst, Natalia Goncharova and Pablo Picasso". In *Diaghilev and the Golden Age of the Ballet Russes 1909-1929*, edited by J. Pritchard. H. N. Abrams, London: 107.
[873] M. Bremser, ed., (1993). *International Dictionary of Ballet*. Vol. 2. St. James Press, Detroit: 1043.
[874] A. Kodicek, ed., (1996). *Diaghilev Creator of the Ballet Russes: Art, Music, Dance*. Barbican Art Gallery Publications, London: 161; A. Schouvaloff, (1997). *The Art of Ballet Russes*. Yale University Press, New Haven: 212.

use of such a symbolic mystical plot, and hence the contents of the conscious, thus facilitating psychological healing via the apprehension and assimilation of unconscious motivations.

Goncharova's costumes appear to be inspired by 'primitive' ritualistic dress; indeed, the Russian folkloric aspect of Fokine's ballet is underscored by Goncharova's new designs.[875] Her design for Koschei's four guards show evident aesthetic paralleling with the conventions of 'primitive' ritualistic headdresses. If we compare her design for Koschei's guard, (Fig. 101) with a mask for an African ritualistic costume reproduced by Maes in his *Aniota-Kifwebe, Les Masques des populations du Congo-Belge [Aniota-Kefwebe: Masks of the peoples of the Congo-Belge]* in 1924 (Fig. 102), the similarities are striking.[876] For the design mimics the zoomorphic elk-like form of the headdress, combining it with an unnerving anthropomorphic quality in the large round staring eyes, evocative of the vacant eyeballs prominent in ecstatic trance. The rest of the dress, with its feather like tendrils in autumnal rusts and ochres is evocative of the more minimal ritualistic costumes, for example, the costume of the Northwest Mongolian shaman, as seen in this contemporary photograph, (Fig. 103). The guard carries a schematic axe-like device which could perhaps be reminiscent of the Buriat horse-stick utilised to traverse the realms. By creating this type of design it appears that Goncharova is drawing from multiple 'primitive' sources in order to create archetypal images which had the potential capacity to inspire psychological holism.

If we look at her costume for the firebird, (Fig. 104), we can see that there might be influence of shamanic ritualistic costume, specifically in the skirt, made entirely from feathers, which float from the waist from a decorated stick. As we have seen feathers almost always formed part of the shamanic dress, for they were emblematic of the ornithic significance of shamanic costumes. The ribbed torso of the design potentially reflects the frequent use of a skeletal structure in shamanic costume as a way of signifying the shaman's connection to his ancestors, also reproduced frequently through large decorated necklaces, as in this piece, (Fig. 105). The mask worn by the firebird mimics the aesthetic custom of African masks, which Goncharova was likely to have seen in Paris, and potentially that of shamanic masks, such as the *Ritual Mask*, from the Koryak people in Kamchatka, (Fig. 19). The mask was worn by these peoples often as a means of signifying their magico-religious status, and to facilitate potential ecstatic traversal, transforming them into 'archetypes of transcendence'. Interestingly, Schouvaloff argues that Goncharova's revised designs were created to provide an almost

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[875] M. Larionov, (1931). "Goncharova –khudozhnik sovremennoi zhizni i kostiuma teatralnogo" ["Goncharova – Painter of Modern Life and Theatrical Costume"]. *Chisla [Number]*. No. 4: 242.
[876] C.f. J. Maes, (1924). *Aniota-Kifwebe: Les Masques des populations du Congo-Belge [Aniota-Kifwebe: Masks of the peoples of the Congo-Belge]*. De Sikkel, Antwerp: ill 19.

'comical' effect. Arguing that by 1926, such demonic characters as Koschei and his monster-helpers could not be taken seriously.[877] Perhaps the archetypal interpretation adds another more mystical dimension to Goncharova's radical aesthetic, and heightens the magic intended by both the characters and the drama rather than its comic value. Moreover, Goncharova's use of 'primitive' aesthetics allowed her to communicate in a Jungian manner potentially facilitating psychological healing.

Le Oiseu de Feu was considered the first "truly Russian" ballet by Diaghilev's company, and signifies the beginning of ballets which express Russia's troubled hybrid national identity. This is seen through the ballet's engagement with the post-Petrine tensions between the European and Asian guises of Russianness. It undermines the myth of 'pure' Russian identity with the revelation of its pagan Asian past.[878] A notion emphasised by the use of a mythical plot and 'primitive' aesthetic system, highlighting the need for the conscious to understand the 'archaic language of nature' utilised in unconscious expression. Fokine's choreography, with its twisted torsos, and angular entwined movements radically contrasted with the fluid gracefulness of nineteenth century ballet, bringing dance back to earth and signifying the 'primitive' coarseness of the peasant, reminiscent of the angular contortions of ecstatic dance which characterised archaic ritual.[879] The archetypal nature of the ballet created by the amalgamation of plot, sets, costumes and choreography was enhanced by Stravinsky's radical score. The strangeness of the musical idiom, particularly to ballet audiences, was a challenge to some critics. For several others the revolution of the score led to revered acclaim for Stravinsky. The *Sunday Times* critic stated that the score was "impressionistic", and "advanced in its idiom, free and varied in its rhythm, and elaborately scored". Continuing that whilst it was "hardly the sort of music that one would expect in alliance with the choreographic art, it fits the action of *L'Oiseu de Feu* like the proverbial glove and seems very congenial to the dancers."[880] Interestingly, Stravinsky created an audible association between the music of the Firebird's dance and that of Koschei. Composed using diminished and chromatic harmonies, creating an affiliation between the magic of both supernatural beings, further evocative of them sharing a mystical identity, albeit with opposite realms of intent.[881] The ballet's "free and varied" rhythm is characteristic of

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[877] Schouvaloff, (1997): 213-4.
[878] C.f. S. Banes, (1999). "Firebird and the Idea of Russianness". In *The Ballet Russes and Its World*, edited by L. Garafola & N. Baer. Yale University Press, New Haven: 118.
[879] Banes, (1999): 119; C. Beaumont, (1966). *Michel Fokine and His Ballets*. Dance Books, London. Originally published in 1935: 110; M. Eliade, (1970). *Yoga, Immortality and Freedom*. Princeton University Press, Princeton: 388.
[880] Bremser, (1993): 1045.
[881] R. Taruskin, (1996). *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: A Biography of the Works Through Mavra.* Vol. 1. University of California Press, Oakland: 589-602.

'primitive' ritualistic percussive music accompanied by ecstatic dance, and its overall cohesion reflects the holistic trance-like effect of ecstatic ritual, a manifestation of the unconscious.

But no mention of the Ballet Russes in connection to 'primitive' ritual can ignore *Le Sacre du Printemps* (1913). Revolutionary for Stravinsky's illogical, ecstatic, rhythmic score, and the clumsy stamping movements of Nijinsky's choreography, the plot revolves around the rituals of pagan Rus. Informed by Rerikh's ethnographic and anthropological explorations, the ballet relates the archaic rituals performed to propitiate the sun-god Yarila and to revive the earth from its winter torpor. Divided into two acts, the first details the ritualistic rites practised to honour the earth. First, a three hundred year old female seer kisses the earth as a solemn consecration which incites the tribal performance of a mystical dance, conflating ritual movements with ecstatic gestures. Act two relates the selection of the maiden to be sacrificed to placate the sun and to initiate spring, beginning with ritualistic customs performed before the sacrifice, such as pious evocations and placatory offerings to the ancestors. Finally, a maiden is selected and falls into a rigid trance, and the act culminates in her stunning prolonged ecstatic dance, with the apotheosis of the ballet being her death and her ultimate sacrifice to the sun by the elders.[882] This ballet appears distinctly shamanic, for its sole focus is ecstatic ritual, and it details elements which are of profound significance in shamanic mysticism.[883] The rites are led by an 'aged seer', the shaman, who utilises dance to facilitate transcendence. The ballet culminates in a sustained ecstatic dance, a fundamental aspect of shamanic ritual as a means to stimulate ecstasy required to enter the trance of the shamanic soul journey. That the maiden dies is reminiscent of the Nivkhi (Gilyak) festival of the bear, where sacrifices are made to propitiate the tribal ancestors, and signifies the dangers of the shamanic quest, for both the shaman and his patient may die in healing ritual if the soul-journey is not successful. In 2013, in correlation with the centenary of the ballet's first performance, a tape recording was released detailing a conversation between Rerikh, Nijinsky, Diaghilev and Stravinsky, which evidences the shamanic influences of the ballet. In the course of the conversation Rerikh explains that the elder of act one must be a shaman, whilst also explaining what a shaman is and that she must divine with twigs to incite ritualistic magic.[884] (C.f. Appendix 1)

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[882] Kodicek, (1996): 164; Bremser, (1993): 1232; J. Bellow, (2013). *Modernism on Stage*. Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Farnham: 61-2; Schouvaloff, (1997): 291.
[883] Indeed, Pritchard argues that the ballet presents the "shaman sites of Mongolia". C.f. J. Pritchard, (2010). "Creating Productions". In *Diaghilev and the Golden Age of the Ballet Russes 1909-1929*, edited by J. Pritchard. H. N. Abrams, London: 71.
[884] P. Griffiths, (2013). "The Rite of Spring: The Untold Story". *New York Arts*, May 29.

Rerikh's scene sets and costumes reveal the influence of shamanism on the artist's schema for the ballet. His *The Great Sacrifice*, (1910) (Fig. 106), and *Exorcism of the Earth*, (1907), (Fig. 107), both adapted to create his mystical decorative system for *Le Sacre du Printemps*, depict seemingly shamanic rituals. In *The Great Sacrifice*, we see perhaps a typical depiction of a shamanic symbolic mound or dwelling place, seen in this contemporary photograph, (Fig. 108), with the folds of the landscape lined with stones and the protagonists, characterised by their sage appearance, sitting in a circle around a fire, evocative of either the preparation for, or the aftermath of, a shamanic ritualistic scene. In *Exorcism of the Earth*, the three figures entering the canvas at the right-hand corner appear to be cloaked in shamanic costumes. They wear skins and zoomorphic headdresses, characteristic of shamanic ritualistic dress, which utilised the skins and horns of symbolic animals to impregnate its costumes with the animals' mystical power, and as a means to incite the aid of the spirit-doubles in the other realms. In *Kissing the Earth*, (1913), (Fig. 109) and *Ritual Circle*, (1913), (Fig. 110), Rerikh adds a further theatrical dimension to his schema, by highlighting the vitalist pagan idea that there is an intimate connection between life and death, and that all existence is a cyclical process nourished by Mother Earth. The central focus of the potential 'world tree' in *Kissing the Earth,* and the prominent idols encircling the *kurgan*, or burial mound, of *Ritual Circle* seem to express this belief. A conception heightened by Nijinsky's stamping choreography which implied the inherent connection between the earth and its people.[885] This may also be understood in Jungian terms, for Jung argued that man's unconscious motivations resulted from his primal instinctive connection to nature and the earth. The idols depicted in *Ritual Circle* take the form of animal skulls tied onto poles and stuck into the ground, and if we compare Rerikh's idols with a *Bear Skull on a Ritual Celebratory Ladle* of the Nivkhi (Gilyak) people, acquired in the Vasilev expedition of 1910-11, (Fig. 111), the shamanic influence seems evident, for Rerikh's depiction bears a striking resemblance to the artefact. For the Nivkhi (Gilyak), the bear was considered one of their animal ancestors, and this coupled with the portrayal of Rerikh's elders dressed in bear skins, highlights the seemingly shamanic conceptions underlying the artistic schema.[886] Indeed, Rerikh would state that *Le Sacre du Printemps* would "bear us to the sacred hill where the Slavic clans prepare their vernal games."[887]

[885] Bowlt, Misler & Petrova. 2013a: 300; Nikolai Rerikh was an archaeologist and ethnographer whose interest in Russian archaic ritual came from several excavations undertaken with the Russian Archaeological Society as early as 1893, and this certainly inspired his shamanic decorative schema for the ballet. C.f. Bowlt, Misler & Petrova. 2013a: 301.
[886] Ibid: 301.
[887] Letter of N. Rerikh to S. Diaghilev 1913, C.f. Bowlt, Misler & Petrova. 2013a: 300.

Rerikh's costume designs for the ballet's protagonists reveal shamanic influences. His costumes for the elders of act two are distinguished in their shamanic identity by the use of bear skin headdresses. His design for the maidens, (Fig. 112), with its elaborate decorative flourishing patterns along the hem of the dress and sleeves, and its ornamental headdress adorned with disks and long plaited braids which fall to the protagonists waist, has evident parallels with contemporary depictions of female shamanic costumes, such as (Fig. 113). This shamanic schema is mirrored in the costumes worn by the elders in the first act, (Fig. 114), distinguished by their pointed caps, another shamanic costume custom, (Fig. 115). In some tribes 'shamanising' without a cap deprived the shaman of all his power and a ceremony enacted without one was merely a parody primarily intended as entertainment for the audience.[888] Moreover, a painting by Rerikh, *Sorcerers*, (1905), (Fig. 116), demonstrates the artist's thorough attention to detail, that he might produce authentic ethnographic costumes based on his anthropological research into ancient Slavic lore and ritualistic customs. Although the illustration is not of costume designs for *Le Sacre du Printemps*, but rather an enchanting study of figures in an archaic landscape, a visual evocation of the atmosphere of pagan ritual, it is regarded as one of a series of studies which Rerikh presented to Stravinsky in order to attempt to illustrate his pagan sacrificial vision.[889] It would seem then that the shamanic elements of Rerikh's costume designs are profoundly evident.

Nijinsky's choreography and Stravinsky's music were both revolutionary and added a significant shamanic dimension to the ballet. The prolonged ecstatic dance of the chosen maiden acts as the climax of the ballet with her movements building up to a vigorous repetitive rhythm which teeters on the point of delirium, an evident parallel with the ecstasy of shamanic ritual.[890] Nijinsky would describe his dance as "the soul of nature expressed by movement…It is the life of the stones and the trees…a thing of concrete masses, not of individual effects," emblematic of shamanic animism, an expression perhaps of the unconscious' archaic spiritual language of nature.[891] At this time, such a conception was both revolutionary and exhausting, mentally and physically challenging the kernel of choreographic art. Karsavina states "Nijinsky declared his feud against Romanticism and bid adieu to the 'beautiful'."[892] Meanwhile Stravinsky provided a driving, powerful score characterised by polyrhythmic repetition and recursive folk motifs which

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[888] C.f. Eliade, (1964): 148, 154; Mikhailovski, (1895): 81.
[889] There is some debate about whether this illustration was a study for Le Sacre du Printemps or another Diaghilev production, but regardless the scene demonstrates Rerikh's extensive research into the illustrative schema of shamanic ritual costumes. C.f. Schouvaloff, (1997): 294.
[890] Pritchard, (2010): 80.
[891] Nijinsky quoted in Bremser, (1993): 1232.
[892] T. Karsavina, (1948). *Theatre Street*. Dance Books, London: 236.

produce an incessant pounding accompaniment, created to evoke "the mystery and surge of the creative power of spring…like the whole earth cracking."[893] The rhythmic repetition and discordant chromatics of Stravinsky's score are reminiscent of the percussive repetitive rhythmic patterns which characterise shamanic ecstatic music, and heightened the overall mystic sensation of the ballet. Perhaps not surprisingly, the audience's response was one of full-scale riot, resulting in police intervention. The critics were equally scandalised by the production, calling it "epileptic" or "paralytic", a further suggestion of the shamanic ecstatic effect achieved. A pronounced psychic effect and a signifier that such revolutionary appeal had truly upset the conventions of nineteenth century ballet, leaving the refined Parisian audience confused and exasperated.[894] Yet it was through these innovations that the ballet created its savage atmosphere. An atmosphere governed by profound shamanic ritualism, for the "ugly" clumsy stamping movements of Nijinsky's choreography combined with the insistent forceful rhythms of Stravinsky's score, the profoundly eerie scenes of Rerikh's backdrop and his distinctly mystical costumes amalgamate to create a ritualistic atmosphere united by rhythmic domination and intense shamanic mysticism.[895] Thus we see the creative participants utilising the rich imagery and symbolism of shamanism to create a ballet which would have the capacity to access and express unconscious motivations, facilitating the reunification of the consciousness.

Overall, it would appear that the avant-garde embarked upon a mystical voyage in the creation of a transcendent, noumenal reality, paralleling that of the Jungian archetypal seer, who upon entering ecstatic trance traverses the cosmic realms. First they formulated an aesthetic which would resonate with the mystical necessities required to facilitate ecstatic ritual. The rudimentary qualities of art were imbued with transcendental power, and the fundamental ritualistic practises, such as drumming and chanting, were evoked. Having entered an 'altered-state-of-consciousness', artists such as, Larionov and Malevich, parodied the sensations of a spiritual voyage into the higher dimensions. Subsequently, the avant-garde created an aesthetic which would be allegorical to the experience of entering and perceiving cosmic noumena, through the utilisation of fourth-dimensional and psychological implications. Finally they evoked

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[893] Bremser, (1993): 1232; H. Goodall, (2010). "Music and the Ballet Russes". In *Diaghilev and the Golden Age of the Ballet Russes 1909-1929*, edited by J. Pritchard. H. N. Abrams, London: 174-5; interestingly, the idea for *Le Sacre du Printemps* apparently came to Stravinsky in a vision whilst he was composing *L'Oiseau de Feu*. In his autobiography, Stravinsky states that the character of the firebird inspired a vision which detailed a pagan ritual in which a virgin is chosen to be sacrificed and consequently dances herself to death in an ecstatic frenzy. C.f. I. Stravinsky, (1936). *Chronicles Of My Life*. V. Gollancz, London: 63.

[894] Bremser, (1993): 1232; Bellow, (2013): 63.

[895] Kodicek, (1996): 164; indeed. Bellow states that *Le Sacre du Printemps* was perhaps the greatest expression of the Wagnerian gesamtkunstwerk to date, with the dancers fused in anonymity, a notion enhanced by Rerikh's near-uniform costumes and heightened by Stravinsky's repetitive rhythms c.f. Bellow, (2013): 62.

syncretic media as a source to express the cohesion and amalgamation of the metaphorical reunified consciousness. Thus, having anticipated the Jungian crisis of psychic dislocation, we see the avant-garde visually expressing both Jungian archetypes, and the outward projection of the unconscious. Having induced the sensation and expression of the transcendent archetypal 'soul-journey', and the mystical dimension of the noumenal unconscious cosmic realms, the avant-garde were poised on the actualisation of the ultimate psychic telos of their artistic vision, universal healing through spiritual transformation, and the establishment of cosmic psychic equilibrium.

CHAPTER FOUR: HEALING

"Our epoch is a time of tragic collision between matter and spirit …a time of terrible, inescapable vacuum;" thus declared Kandinsky, as he defined the degraded state of his contemporary reality.[896] With this conception in mind, the avant-garde began to assign a messianic, therapeutic mission to their art. The definitive purpose of the shamanic ideology is one of healing; both the individual from sickness, and the community itself, all for the achievement of an overarching cosmic equilibrium.[897] The shamanic conception of 'wellbeing' comprises not only physical health in a medicinal sense, nor is it limited to mental health in the psychological sense; but it also encompasses abundant nutritional supplies, social harmony, and prosperity. All of these elements of 'wellbeing' depend on the notion of environmental equilibrium, as well as social harmony both in the human and in the spirit realms.[898] This holistic conception of healing is a manifest expression of what Jung would look to as a means to restore society's psychological health, for it represents man's noumenal connection with nature and could encompass all of his collective unconscious archetypes. As we have seen, the necessity for psychological healing achieved via the re-unification of the consciousness, was for Jung, the fundamental duty of the human race. He argues that the new 'rationalism' of modern man has removed his ability to respond to the numinous, and has made him subordinate to the psychic 'underworld'. Man is freed from 'superstition', but in this liberation he has lost the values of spiritualism to a perilous extent, his archaic spiritual convention has collapsed, and he is paying the price with a world-wide psychic disassociation. 'Primitive' man was governed by his instincts, which, in our modern, rational society, we believe that we have learned to control. However, in reality, we have progressively divided our consciousness, from the instinctive depths of the psyche, and from the fundamental somatic foundations of psychic phenomena.[899]

Previously 'primitive' man was able to integrate unconscious concepts into a coherent pattern within his psyche, but modern man with his 'advanced' consciousness is unable to do this, for he has deprived his consciousness of the capacity to assimilate the instinct and the numinous contributions of the unconscious. Anthropologists argue that if 'primitive' societies were exposed to modern civilisation, it would cause them to morally deteriorate, through the loss

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[896] W. Kandinsky, (1911). "Kuda idet 'novoe' iskusstvo" ["Whither the New Art"]. *Odesskie novosti [Odessa News]*. February 9: 3.
[897] Winkelman, (2000): 58, 61.
[898] Vitebsky, (1995): 101; Mikhailovski, (1895): 92; Winkelman, (2000): 62.
[899] Jung, (1964): 36-7, 71-2, 84, 85.

of fundamental meaning in their lives, and through the collapse of their social organisations based on spirituality. What Jung argues is that modern man is in the same condition, we have stripped spirituality from our existence and as a result we are disintegrating, but the danger is that we do not fully understand what we have lost, and therefore we either do not want or know how to repair the damage. Modern man believes that he is the master of his soul. He is able to function effectively without recourse to the mysticism which characterises 'primitive' ritual, but this advancement of the conscious has been at the detriment to his psychic faculties, and being possessed of psychic powers beyond his control, he certainly cannot be considered his own master. The great loss of contact with our instincts and the spiritual is compensated for by the occurrence of symbolic collective archetypes in our dreams or other psychic manifestations, which appear as a result of the unconscious' attempt to realign itself with the conscious. For the conscious and the unconscious must be integrally connected and move in synchronicity with one another, if they are split or 'dislocated' then a 'psychological disturbance' will occur. Since Jung argues that this 'dislocation' has occurred, the dream symbols act as an unconscious means of reasserting the instinctual and numinous strata of the psyche to the conscious.[900] The avant-garde's apprehension of this global psychological crisis may explain their choice of such a multifaceted ideology and iconography, and the underlying healing mission of their art, a mission which we have seen throughout the development of their *oeuvres* during this period.

It was this complex understanding of 'wellbeing' that the avant-garde attempted to actualise as the fundamental telos for their artistic mission. The healing promoted by the avant-garde acts as the culmination of their pre-figured Jungian expression. For they attempted to heal at both an individual level, through the spiritual transformation of the viewer, and at a universal level, a social and cultural regeneration, utilising their artistic expression as a means to redress the balance of the universe, and to achieve cosmic equilibrium, which would bring the reunification of the consciousness to fruition. This chapter will aim to demonstrate how the avant-garde attempted to actualise the holistic reality of Jungian healing. It will discuss the most fundamental of methods utilised in the achievement of this aim, how the avant-garde were inspired by 'primitive' ideology and practise, and utilised the aesthetic conventions advocated by 'primitives' in their ritualistic healing customs. Firstly, it will consider those methods which are concerned with more overtly curative processes, for example, the use of the 'medicine-book' convention, advocated by Goncharova and Kandinsky, and the avant-garde's potential representation of shamanic idols in their work to imbue it with the therapeutic connotations associated with such

[900] Ibid.

artefacts. Subsequently, it will discuss how the avant-garde attempted to establish an artistic rhetoric which could actualise cosmic equilibrium and psychological healing, focussing on the development of an idealised dimension, the abstract language, *Vsechestvo* and the construction of a utopian landscape.

Goncharova was overtly aware of the cultural impoverishment of modernity, believing that the 'Enlightenment', with its materialism, secularism, capitalism and overall inequality, could be conflated with ancient Babylon, a society whose immoralities had evoked ultimate judgement. She was part of a generation of artists who had become terrified of the rational conclusion of modernity, sensing an imminent, monumental conflict, the anticipation of Jung's psychic dislocation, and thus she utilised her work to rouse contemporary civilisation to the fundamental necessity of spiritual regeneration. Through her interest in Orthodox art, Goncharova began to work in a tradition established by illuminated manuscript convention, the production of a 'medicine-book', acquired by those who sought spiritual healing. For Goncharova, the potential of this conception extended to a desire to affect social and cultural regeneration through the promotion of a universal spiritualism. She adopted an ideology which utilised biblical, largely apocalyptic, images to create books or folios which were imbued with the transcendental power of the 'medicine-manuscript', to generate social psychic healing. The most notable example of this can be seen in her illustrations for the *Franz Marc Bible*, a project which never achieved completion. Goncharova's design for the *Prodigal Son parable*, (1911-1912), (Fig. 117), directly parallels the leaf *Work in the Fields* of *Dushevnoe lekarstvo*, *[Medicine for the Soul]*, (Fig. 118), a text that was reproduced and discussed in 1906 in the journal *Zolotoe runo*.[901] The iconography, style and composition of Goncharova's depiction are essentially an imitation of the miniature. In this project Goncharova utilises artistic conventions from the icon tradition, especially in her compositional arrangement of the narrative. Frequently the Russian icon would illustrate events separated by time and space in a single picture plane. Such a technique can be seen in Goncharova's portrayal of the *Lost Sheep*, (1911-1912), (Fig. 119), in which she divides the pictorial composition into three sections, the first, depicting the confined sheep, the second, illustrating the shepherd as he seeks his lost sheep and the third, portraying the journey home.[902] Thus the *Marc Bible* demonstrates Goncharova's direct utilisation of the 'medicine-manuscript' conventions, which she heightens by combining with artistic expressions taken from the icon

[901] A. Uspensky, (1906). "Russkii zhanr XVII veka: Zametka iz istorii russkoi miniatiury" ["Russian Genre of the XVII Century: Article on the History of Russian Miniatures"]. *Zolotoe runo [The Golden Fleece]*. Nos.7-9: 87-97.
[902] Parton, (2010): 228-230.

tradition to achieve a mystically significant, transcendental, Jungian archetypal book, which symbolically facilitates spiritual and psychic healing.

Goncharova adopted an apocalyptic rhetoric to assume the need for, and attempt to actualise spiritual renewal. Such an expression can be seen in her folio of lithographs *Voina: Misticheskie Obrazy Voiny [War: Mystical Images of War]*, published by Kashin in 1914, which combined artistic elements of Byzantine mysticism and popular convention.[903] The symbolism behind the folios is an apocalyptic vision of war, where Russia and her allies are backed by an angelic host in their conflict against evil. The cover depicts St Michael, complete with his sword, which proclaims the apocalyptic struggle as a theme for the fourteen lithographs which comprise the work. The folio begins with *St George, The Conqueror*, (Fig. 120), reflecting the start of the Apocalypse as he is the first rider of the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse.[904] Subsequently, there occur the three emblems of the allies which accompany St George on his messianic quest to defeat the dragon, the double-headed *Eagle*, symbolic of Russia, the *Lion*, symbolic of England and the *Cockerel*, symbolic of France.[905] Following this is *The Woman riding a Beast*, who is 'drunk with the blood of the saints', (Fig. 121).[906] Finally, Goncharova introduces several paradigmatically religious images, including the monks *Peresvet and Osliabia*, (Fig. 122), and *Michael the Archangel*, complete with his apocalyptic attributes, trumpet, censor, rainbow and gospel, (Fig. 123).[907] The folio implies that the means by which to survive the struggle against a culmination of Satanic forces is a deep spiritual faith. The Allies are backed with images renowned for the strength of their mysticism, a metaphorical expression of the fact that the psyche's only means to control its troubling inner motives, i.e. the Satanic forces', is through the reassertion of the spiritual. Through the predominance of Russian images, the folio implies that Goncharova intended to invoke the notion of Russia's 'Destiny'. A conception which advocates that due to Russia's geographical and ideological position between East and West, she is divinely ordained to ascertain the outcome of significant events in the world.[908] In executing the work Goncharova utilises her Neo-primitive aesthetic, combining artistic elements from the icon tradition, such as the stylistic mannerisms of the innately Orthodox images, for example, the figure of St George, and the way in which the figures gesture and pose, with techniques reminiscent of the *lubok*, such

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[903] Chamot, (1979): 15.
[904] Revelation: 6:1-2; Goncharova's depiction of the saints George and Michael resemble Kandinsky's artistic saints, whose messianic power he intrinsically imbued on his own reverent mission as the shaman of the avant-garde. Interestingly, Goncharova's 'Michael the Archangel', portrayed on the cover of *Bubnovyi valet* (1910), actually prefigures Kandinsky's St George, the infamous shaman of his Blaue Reiter, C.f. Parton, (2010): 226.
[905] Parton, (2010): 258.
[906] Revelation 17: 4-6.
[907] Revelation 8: 3-8; 10:1; 14:6.
[908] Parton, (2010): 259.

as the crude pronunciation of shape and line, a style which acts as a manifest expression of Jungian archetypal language.[909] She imbues her work with an overall Jungian guise, for it is through Jung's collective archetypes, a spirituality implied through Goncharova's universal and transcendental images, that social and cultural psychic regeneration can be achieved, and hence Goncharova utilises her work to facilitate the notion of psychic healing.

Kandinsky, acutely aware of the necessity for spiritual renewal, similarly utilised the 'medicine-book' convention as a means by which to evoke psychic therapy. Its aesthetic system is most apparent in the *Almanac Der Blaue Reiter* (1912), Kandinsky and Marc's pioneering text of the Blue Rider Movement. In June 1911, Kandinsky wrote to Franz Marc with regard to creating an innovative art journal, an annual almanac which had as its primary function artistic synthesis:

> "A Chinese [work of art] next to a Rousseau, a folk print next to a Picasso...[contributors will include] writers and musicians."[910]

Discussing their idea of presenting contemporary art work juxtaposed with illustrations of ethnic and folk art, Marc stated, "We have hopes for so much [that is] healing and inspirational from it."[911] The whole idea of the book as a emblematic force for healing, even for salvation and exorcism, was to be found not only in its title, with its symbolic 'blue rider' reference –blue considered the celestial colour and the rider depicted on the cover image an evident portrayal of the divinely-bestowed heroic figure of St George –but also in the illustrations selected and their specific arrangement. A vast assortment of ethnic objects, largely to do with healing and ultimate salvation, was selected for illustrating the almanac: from a Ceylonese dance-mask to Bavarian 'miracle' depictions, the culmination of a Jungian archetypal expression. The editors appear to have imbued their almanac with a holistic feel, advocating their fundamental belief that the new art could act as a therapeutic allegory for social salvation and psychic healing.[912]

In 1930, in a letter to Paul Westheim, Kandinsky discussed the Blue Rider's attempt to put right the "destructive detachment" of one type of art from another by bringing together

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[909] Parton, (2010): 258.

[910] K. Lankheit, (1974). *The Documents of Twentieth-Century Art: The Blaue Reiter Almanac*. Viking Press, New York: 15-16, citing a letter by W. Kandinsky to F. Marc dated 19th June 1911; the almanac was actually an anthology inspired by Kandinsky's contact with the ethnographic publications with which he had been familiar as a student. Not only the *Trudy [Transactions]* of the Society but also the *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie [Ethnographic Review]* itself frequently included musical transcriptions, poetry, riddles, charms, runes, charts, maps, photographs etc., as well as contributions by a broad spectrum of scholars; c.f. K. Lindsay & P. Vergo, eds. (1982). *Kandinsky: Complete Writings on Art*. G. K. Hall, Boston: 880, n. 7, suggesting that the Society's 'yearbooks' might have served as a precedent by virtue of their occasional inclusion of folk music.

[911] E. Brücher & K. Gutbrod, (1964). *August Macke –Franz Marc: Briefwechsel [August Macke –Franz Marc: Correspondence]*. M. DuMont, Cologne: 72-4, citing a letter by F. Marc to A. Macke dated 8th September 1911.

[912] Weiss, (1995): 93-4; Hoberg, (2009): 29; Goldwater. (1983): 126.

ethnography, folk art and children's art, with what the West deemed suitable to call 'Art'. It is interesting that he chose the words "destructive detachment" to describe the problems with art, for this is exactly what Jung would claim had happened to man's psyche with the advancement of rationalism in the Enlightenment. Kandinsky did not care about the formal resemblances between these particular phenomena but instead about their internal coherence, how they expressed and were connected on the grounds of what he called the "inner necessity", through which the "fractured soul" of humanity might be restored.[913] A manifestly Jungian statement for, as we have seen, Kandinsky's "inner necessity" represented the unconscious motivations of the psyche, and his reference to the "fractured soul" of humanity suggests that he had anticipated Jung's 'psychic dislocation' and was determined to utilise his art to restore man's consciousness. In the manifold of artistic forms and ideas represented in the almanac Kandinsky created an artistic synthesis, a veritable *Gesamtkunstwerk*, a fundamental archetypal book, the culmination of his means through which he could achieve social healing.[914]

Two main factors underlined the social consciousness which led Kandinsky and Marc to select a therapeutic theme for their almanac. The first was Kandinsky's decision to include an essay on music by Dr Kulbin to highlight the curative tone of the almanac; Kulbin had an important social status for he had been named a 'propagandist' but was also an advocate of Russia's avant-garde arts.[915] The second was that Kandinsky intended to include in the almanac a piece by Sergei Bulgakov, a former Marxist and political economist. Bulgakov was a member of the Russian intelligentsia who later admitted that his love of the arts had been his salvation from the depths of revolutionary nihilism. In fact Bulgakov's essay was not placed in the almanac, but Kandinsky kept a signed abstract of the piece, *The Intelligentsia and Religion* in his library.[916] We can see that Kandinsky charged the almanac with a certain symbolic social role. Undeniably, the most overt message in the almanac was one of healing, in fact, the plethora of folk and ethnic-art items chosen to illustrate the almanac literally express the healing message of the journal.[917] St George, the pioneering saint, whom, as previously stated, Kandinsky endowed with mystical reverence, his visual expression of Jung's 'archetype of transcendence', and who became

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913 Weiss, (1995): xvi.
914 R. Washton-Long, (2011). "Is the Blaue Reiter relevant for the Twenty-First Century?" Paper presented at The Blue Rider: Centenary Symposium, Tate Modern, London, November 25-26; D. Lewer, (2011). "Kleinkunst and Gesamtkunstwerk in Munich and Zurich: Der Blaue Reiter and Dada". Paper Presented at The Blue Rider: Centenary Symposium, Tate Modern, London, November 25-26; Zweite, (1989): 39; K. Kuenzli, (2011). "The Primitive and the Modern in Der Blaue Reiter and the Folkwang Museum" Paper presented at The Blue Rider: Centenary Symposium, Tate Modern, London, November 25-26; Weiss, (1985): 142; Düchting, (2007): 42-44.
915 Weiss, (1995): 97.
916 Ibid: 98-9.
917 Ibid: 99.

allegorical of Kandinsky's role as an artist, adorns the cover of the book, vanquishing the dragon of social materialism, as evidence of the almanac's healing mission.[918] St. George is depicted numerous times throughout the almanac, not only on the jacket cover (Fig. 124), but also, for example, in Gabriele Münter's *Still Life with St. George*, (Fig. 125).[919]

The most unusual reference to the saint is seen in an unidentified Russian folk-print, (Fig. 126), which can be found in the middle of Burliuk's essay *The 'Savages' of Russia.*[920] The work of Oskar Loorits, the anthropologist, who was also a collector of St. George legends from eastern Estonia in the 1930s, informs us that the traditional reverence of St. George, celebrated in the church calendar on 23rd April, is for the peasants, related to the annual spring tradition of leading out the cattle and horses to pasture.[921] St. George's Day is a celebratory occasion marked by significant rituals, both Christian and pagan, performed primarily for herd protection. Springtime social ceremonies for the youth are also performed, such as the round-dance of young women, alongside various other rustic rites. Loorits's book, *Der heilige Georg in der russischen Volksüberlieferung Estlands, [St George in the Russian Folk Tradition of Estonia],* contains a photograph portraying the same ceremony that is illustrated in the almanac's print, with nearly the same arrangement of the figures. In the print we can detect the rituals mentioned above, such as the leading out of the herds and the round-dancing of the youth, and in the centre a ram is depicted, emblematic of Aries, frequently related to the ameliorative forces of spring, and the bull directing the cows, a specific allusion to Taurus, April's zodiac sign. In the upper-left corner a sun encompassed by clouds is depicted, a conventional farmer's-almanac sign indicating the unpredictable weather of April. This print is actually a page taken from a Russian georgic almanac, the page for 23rd April St. George's Day. The healing and rejuvenative abilities of St. George are thus highlighted by his mythological relation to the ancient ameliorative rituals of spring.[922]

The notion of social healing in the almanac extends beyond merely that embodied in the figure of St George. It is ardently announced in the journal's first depiction, a coloured replica of a Bavarian mirror-painting portraying St Martin sharing his cloak with a beggar, (Fig. 127), which illustrates Marc's opening essay, *Spiritual Treasures*, in which Marc asserted their responsibility to

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[918] Zweite, (1989): 38-9; Weiss, (1985): 143.
[919] Weiss, (1985): 143.
[920] Kandinsky & Marc, (2005): 76.
[921] O. Loorits, (1955). "Der heilige Georg in der russischen Volksüberlieferung Estlands", ["St George in the Russian Folk Tradition of Estonia"]. *Veroeffentlichungen der Abteilung für slavische Sprachen und Literaturen des Osteuropa-Instituts an der Freien Universität Berlin*, *[Technical papers of the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures of the East European Institute at the Free University of Berlin]*. Vol. 7.
[922] Weiss, (1985): 143.

share what he termed art's 'spiritual treasures' with a disfigured and uneducated public.[923] In this he anticipates Jung's need to visually express the unconscious spiritual needs to the conscious to restore man's psyche. Marc selected a fundamental allegory of the healing the editors hoped to bring about through their art. In his third essay, *Two Pictures*, which he closed with a full-page replica of a mosaic found in St Mark's Cathedral in Venice, (Fig. 128), illustrating the appearance of St Mark's body as a miraculous apparition.[924] This illustration has great significance for it recalls the author's own name and it alludes to the gospel that acts as the fundamental source for accounts of Christ's miraculous healing abilities, including spiritual exorcisms and people being awakened from the dead, a collective archetypal image which could facilitate the restoration of the consciousness.[925]

Perhaps the most compelling combination of healing motifs found in the almanac occurs in the illustrations Kandinsky uses to accompany his essay *On Stage Composition*.[926] Kandinsky believed that the theatre was the most innately syncretic art-form acting as the prime expression of the "inner necessity" which would heal the "fractured soul" of his modern society.[927] Situated in the centre of the book, in a context which left no questions as to the meaning intended, Kandinsky positioned his contentious and only recently finished work, *Composition V (Last Judgement)* (1911), (Fig. 31), next to Van Gogh's *Portrait of Dr Gachet,* (1890), (Fig. 129).[928] It had been the controversy surrounding *Composition V* that had led to his break with the Neue Künstlervereinigung München, Munich New Artist's Association, and the subsequent formation of the pioneering Blue Rider movement with its mission of social psychic healing.[929] Kandinsky selects a photograph of the Composition and carefully chose its fundamental position as the culmination of a highly significant series of images which adorn the essay and are evidently intended as an explanation of its allegorical depth. He begins the series with a Bavarian reverse-glass-painting portraying St Luke, (Fig. 130), a painter and doctor who subsequently was named the patron saint of painters and doctors. Luke is depicted with predominate attributes, the paint brushes and palette, his gospel book and the sacrificial ox.[930] This work is followed by an Egyptian shadow-play-puppet replica, (Fig. 131), one of several illustrated among the pages of the almanac primarily for their metaphorical significance, denoting the construct that art can be

[923] C.f. Kandinsky & Marc, (2005): 57.
[924] Ibid: 71.
[925] Weiss, (1995): 97.
[926] Cf. Kandinsky & Marc, (2005): 190-206.
[927] A theme enunciated in the opening pages of *Über das Geistige in der Kunst [Concerning the Spiritual in Art]*, published in time for the opening of the Blue Rider exhibition.
[928] C.f. Kandinsky & Marc, (2005): 202, 203.
[929] Weiss, (1995): 99.
[930] Cf. Kandinsky & Marc, (2005): 200.

made alive through the 'divine fire' of its creator.[931] A full-page reproduction of the photographed *Composition V* follows this, backed by a full-page replica of Van Gogh's *Portrait of Dr Gachet*, the doctor who treated Van Gogh during his last few weeks in Auvers. The work has a fundamental therapeutic implication for not only is Dr Gachet himself illustrated but also in the foreground is the foxglove, the emblem of the doctor's trade, although this flower wilts it is still the plant endowed with the medicinal property of a heart stimulant.[932] Thus Kandinsky emphasises the important healing role of his Composition and of the almanac itself.

In his essay *Masks*, published in the almanac, Macke had compared the portrait of Dr Gachet to the Japanese woodcut, (Fig. 132), which is positioned opposite to it.[933] [934] "Does Van Gogh's portrait of Dr Gachet not originate from a spiritual life similar to the amazed grimace of the Japanese juggler cut in a wood block?"[935] The similarity Macke implies between the healing process and artistic conjuration, the word 'Gaukler' used for Japanese juggler has a dual meaning and can also mean conjurer, is a further indication of the implication behind this series. The doctor, like the artist, magician and the shaman, utilises illusion to bring about his cure or trick. Each of them offers a remedy for the soul or heart of mankind.[936] Jung would argue that it is only through apprehending and assimilating unconscious 'illusions' that the psyche can be restored. Moreover, there is evidence that the illustrations chosen and their specific arrangement in the almanac were totally deliberate, for it is recorded in the correspondence both between Kandinsky and his co-editor Marc, and between them and Piper, their publisher.[937]

Thus we can see that the *Almanac Der Blaue Reiter*, (1912) had been consciously conceived as a as a type of "medicine book"-an instrument of healing, of salvation and exorcism, prescribed to ameliorate a contaminated society infected by the numerous ills of decadence and materialism.[938] The artefacts and illustrations chosen to illustrate the almanac were symbols of regeneration that visibly highlighted the inherently psychic tone Kandinsky intended.[939] For Kandinsky, St George, depicted on the cover, epitomised the archetypal aim of the almanac. The

[931] Cf. Kandinsky & Marc, (2005): 201.
[932] Weiss, (1995): 105.
[933] Kandinsky & Marc, (2005): 83-89.
[934] C.f. Kandinsky & Marc, (2005): 204.
[935] Kandinsky & Marc, (2005): 88-89.
[936] Weiss, (1995): 106; c.f. Weiss, (1982a), pp. 73-6.
[937] Weiss, (1995): 97.
[938] Weiss, (1985): 142-3.
[939] Weiss, (1987): 191.

journal itself was allegorical of the social remedy Kandinsky expected his new aesthetic to bring.[940]

Similarly, one might claim that Larionov also implied the restorative qualities of the Russian avant-garde book. In his cover designs for *Starinnaia liubov, [Vintage Love]* (Fig. 133), Parton argues that the artist refers to the healing practise of the Buriat shaman, and the power the shamanic figure enjoys in his society. Parton postulates that Larionov appears to make a direct reference to the Buriat myth of Khara-Gyrgan, the original Buriat shaman who, according to legend, entered a competition with God.[941] This tale is fundamental to the Buriat tribe for it explains why the contemporary shaman cannot accomplish the remarkable feats of his mythological ancestors. The legend states that Khara-Gyrgan audaciously proclaimed that his powers as a shaman were infinite. God, angry at this, put him to the test by stealing the soul of a young girl and trapping it in a bottle, which he blocked with his own finger so that her soul could not escape. Consequently, the girl became unwell and Khara-Gyrgan was summoned to locate her soul and heal her. Khara-Gyrgan traversed the cosmos riding his drum, and found the young girl's soul trapped in the bottle, and to free it he transformed himself into a spider and stung God, who instantly retracted his finger releasing the girl's soul. God was so furious at his defeat that he depleted the powers of Khara-Gyrgan and all subsequent Buriat shamans. This legend enjoyed a pronounced popularity during this period, being recorded by Shashkov (1864), and being reproduced in later accounts outlining the shamanic phenomenon, such as Mikhailovskii (1895), and thus would have likely been known by Larionov.

In Larionov's illustrations for *Starinnaia liubov* Parton argues that the central part of the legend is recognisable, for on the front-cover he schematically portrays a girl trapped in a bottle, whilst on the back-cover the bottle has been overturned and the girl's soul is escaping.[942] However, such an interpretation can be questioned, for the schematic and abstract designs of Larionov's cover could be evocative of other primitive schema, and the artist himself does not ever explicitly state that shamanism inspired these images. If we accept Parton's reading then we might argue that Larionov suggests the therapeutic connotations of the Russian avant-garde book by utilising a shamanic healing myth on the cover of the work, a door into mysticism implied. This would then allow us to suggest that Larionov is utilising the vocabulary of shamanism as a means to illustrate his psychic motivations, by depicting a well-known shamanic myth he imbues the book with that shamanic healing capacity, and given that the shamanic 'loss

[940] Weiss, (1995): xiv, 197.
[941] Parton, (1993): 103-4.
[942] Ibid.

of soul' has been defined by Jung as a significant 'psychological disturbance', his choice of representation implies that his healing mission is a psychic one. Nevertheless, as has been stated, it can not be conclusively proved that Larionov's illustrations do depict this shamanic myth and thus this interpretation can only be regarded as speculative and unsubstantiated.

Having established such a therapeutic tradition, the avant-garde began to further this artistic expression through seemingly utilising the aesthetic conventions of artefacts associated with healing. Indeed, several art historians, such as Bowlt, Misler, Petrova and Parton, have seen the influence of specific shamanic artefacts in the art work of the Russian avant-garde, the validity of which is necessary for this discussion to assess. It is important to acknowledge here that the use of magic objects is certainly not exclusive to shamanism so this use would have a potential universal appeal. In the exhibition *The Russian Avant-Garde Siberia and the East* the curators argued that the Russian avant-garde were inspired by idol aesthetics.[943] An idol can be defined as an image of a spirit or deity portrayed in an anthropomorphic or a zoomorphic form; as Dmitrii Klements asserts:

> "…the ongon [the Mongolian word for idol] can be seen as an outward representation of a certain deity, mostly as an evil demon that needs to be fed and propitiated with sacrifices in order to ward off evil or misfortune."[944]

In shamanic practise the idol had several functions, largely it was used to achieve a prosperous livelihood; many idols were propitiated to ensure success in a hunt. They were also used for ritualistic purposes; the shaman would seek the aid of their inherent supernatural powers during his soul journey.[945] The most fundamental use of idols, in particular for Siberian shamans, was specifically to heal. The shaman's healing practise usually took two forms, the first revolved around the transfer of evil spirits from the patient into the idol, and the second was to utilise the mystic influences of the idol to retrieve the patient's soul which had been stolen by an evil spirit, something also believed to cause illness. As has been stated, Jung explains that this 'loss of soul' or 'infection with spirits', is in fact a signifier of the 'dissociation of the consciousness', which is healed through the power of reasserting the collective archetypes, notably the 'archetype of transcendence' which he equates to the shaman, and through the projection of parts of the psyche on to symbolic objects to utilise subsequently as a means of strengthening the ego.[946] The

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[943] Bowlt, Misler & Petrova, (2013a): 256.
[944] D. Klements quoted in Sem, (2013): 87.
[945] C. Taksami, (1977). "Sistema kultov u nikhov" ["The Cult Systems of the Nivkhs"]. *Pamiatniki kultury narodov Sibiri i Severa: Sbornik statei Muzeia antropologii i etnografii [Monuments of Culture of the Peoples of Siberia and North: Collection of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnographic articles]*. Vol. 3. Leningrad: 90-116.
[946] Jung, (1964): 6; Henderson, (1964): 101: Jaffé, (1964): 292.

shaman would achieve these tasks by firstly placating the idol with sacrificial offerings; secondly he would either place the idol on the patient's body or would encircle the patient three times whilst carrying the idol.[947] Consequently, the underlying function of the idol was to heal, to ensure continuous well-being through success in the hunt, to aid the actualisation of perfect health through ritual, and thus to bring about cosmic equilibrium.

Bowlt argues that the psychological impact and inherent spiritualism of the idol became increasingly attractive to the avant-garde artist, who heeded the richness of their symbolic power, and began to assimilate it into their innovative artistic language.[948] The avant-garde would certainly have had access to such artefacts, for the early twentieth century witnessed a vast expansion of ethnographic collections to enrich the museums of Moscow and St Petersburg. In particular, the Ethnographic Department of the Alexander III Russian Museum began to arrange independent exhibitions which were dedicated to the customs and practises of archaic Russians, looking specifically at shamanism. Among the most significant of these expeditions are the Sergei Rudenko and Aleksei Makarenko 1907-08, 1909-1910, and 1913 expeditions to the Evenk (Tungus) region. The ethnographers specifically focused on the shamanism of the Nenets (Samoyeds), Khanty (Ostiak) and the Ugri. They returned with vast amounts of shamanic paraphernalia, including idols of guardian spirits, largely in anthropomorphic form, or zoomorphically in the form of fish, tigers or reindeer, along with shamanic encampments and clothing. In 1910, the folklorist Dmitrii Solovev acquired a significant amount of shamanic artefacts and information regarding the Evenk (Tungus), Nanai (Goldi), Orochi, Negidal and Ulchi tribes.[949] Whilst in the same year, the ethnographer Viktor Vasilev was sent by the Ethnographic Department to the Island of Sakhalin and the River Amur in the Far East, to collect artefacts from the Nivkhi (Gilyak) and Orochi tribes. Vasilev returned with a vast collection, including documentary photographs and artefacts, most significantly, ceremonial objects from the Nivkhi's (Gilyak) religious festival held in honour of the bear. Following this, in the 1920s and early 1930s, the anthropologist Evgenii Shneider specifically investigated the customs and practises of the Udegei, living with the tribe in Djongo for a year, to produce an in-depth study complete with documentary photographs.[950] Bowlt argues that documentary photographs appear to have been an important source for the avant-garde, perhaps in particular the photographs of Vladimir Iokhelson and Dmitrii Klements. Their pictures illustrated idols

[947] Ibid; Romanova, (2013): 83.
[948] Bowlt, Misler & Petrova, (2013a): 256.
[949] Unknown, (1912). *Otchet o deiatelnosti Russkogo muzeia Imperatora Aleksandra III za 1911 g. [Report on the activities of the Emperor Alexander III Russian Museum for 1911]*. Alexander III Russian Museum Publications, St Petersburg: 14.
[950] Gorbacheva, (2013): 68-70.

and artefacts in their ritualistic settings, as positioned by the shaman in symbolic places and locations, a concept whose inherent mysticism would likely appeal to the Russian avant-garde.[951]

Bowlt, Misler, Petrova and Parton argue that the assimilation of shamanic idols into the artistic vocabulary of the avant-garde can be found in the work of Filonov, Malevich and Goncharova. In Filonov's *Oxen (Scene from the Life of Savages)*, (1918), (Fig. 134), which depicts a meagre street scene in a muted palette of umbers and beiges, where a peasant farmer rides a carriage pulled by oxen, Bowlt postulates that the influence of shamanic idol aesthetics can be seen. He furthers this with the conception that Filonov anthropomorphises his animals in the work, most notably the oxen and the two dog-like figures in the foreground, which is perhaps reminiscent of the Siberian shamanistic conception of utilising wild animals as a revered part of sacrificial rituals and as symbolic subjects for their guardian spirits.[952] In the exhibition *The Russian Avant-Garde Siberia and the East* the curators drew a parallel between the two dogs in the foreground of Filonov's *Oxen* and a *Shaman's Spirit Helper, Tiger,* of the Orochi People, (Fig. 135), which was in the Russian Museum of Ethnography at the time, having been acquired in the 1907-1909 Vladimir Arsenev expedition, which he donated in 1911. The artefact is a carved wooden idol, 11.5 x 55 x 9.5cm, and painted with brown and black dyes in stripes across the body in the form of a tiger.[953] There certainly seems to be a resemblance between the idol and Filonov's dogs, for the artist mimics the idol in shape, colouring and the evident personification of the faces. Filonov was likely to have seen this idol in the museum, or he would have had access to documentary photographs of such idols, for they were numerous, one prominent example being Shneider's expedition photograph of the 'guardian spirit of the taiga' (or forest), which depicts a tiger idol in its ritualistic setting.[954] However, it is important to remember that anthropomorphising animals is commonplace in naïve representation, and thus several 'primitive' sources may have influenced Filonov's depiction of the tiger and indeed the oxen in this way. Moreover, Filonov never specifically states that shamanism or shamanic idols were inspirations for his aesthetic and thus this interpretation only relies on its visual parallel which cannot be wholly conclusive. Perhaps it is better to suggest that Filonov is utilising the 'primitive' custom of anthropomorphising animals as a way to express an archetypal aesthetic.

Having illustrated such anthropomorphised figures in his painting one might argue that Filonov intends to imbue his work with a therapeutic function. For as has been stated the use of

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[951] Bowlt, Misler & Petrova, (2013a): 256.
[952] Ibid: 310-11.
[953] Ibid: 264.
[954] Gorbacheva, (2013): 70.

archetypal images would have a positive psychological effect, and if we accept Bowlt's shamanic identity for the figures then they would perhaps be evocative of ritualistic healing. Interestingly, among the Udegei, the idol of tiger form, known as Mukhan, was often utilised in healing ritual, for he was believed to symbolise the highest deity and was able to bestow the greatest celestial power. The Nenets (Samoyeds) frequently practised the custom of placing the tiger idol onto the body of the sick patient at the site of the pain or malady to seek the spirit-helper's aid in the ritual of healing.[955] Across several tribes the tiger image symbolised success in the hunt, a significant aspect of the well-being and livelihood of the peoples. As part of the *kamlanie*, or ritual, the shaman would thread a stick through the two holes on either side of the tiger's torso and then secure the idol between two sacred trees; this was a symbolic act of placation to propitiate the spirit and guarantee good fortune from the tribal hunt. If the enterprise was successful, the shaman would rub pig's blood and kasha across the mouth of the tiger idol, something which Bowlt suggests Filonov reflects here with the blood red mouth and gnashing teeth of his left hand dog, although this is not especially clear.[956] It is also important to note that one cannot know whether Filonov himself was aware of such symbolic meanings for the image of the tiger, or if he supposed that the tiger's symbolic potency would be felt by his viewers, who may not be aware of Nenet (Samoyed) or Udegei cultural beliefs, although these artists largely relied on the viewer's unconscious to subliminally understand such meanings even if the viewer himself did not. It does seem likely that Filonov would have known of the anthropomorphising of animals among many 'primitive' representions, so one might argue that by using this custom Filonov attempts to create a modern artistic language infused with archetypal healing properties.

Another image which Bowlt argues demonstrates the influence of shamanic idols is Filonov's *Beasts (Animals)* (1925-26), (Fig. 136).[957] Here the artist utilises a more colourful, vibrant palette in his illustration of large patterned animal figures, rendered in a highly anthropomorphic manner, among a multi-faceted city-scape. Misler argues that the artist's anthropisation of his three wolf-like animals is reminiscent of the totemic significance of wild animals among shamanic tribes.[958] Of course, as we have seen the anthropomorphising of animals is not specific to shamanism and was prevalent among naïve representation. The curators of *The Russian Avant-Garde Siberia and the East* drew a parallel between Filonov's left-hand beast and a *Guardian Spirit of the Taiga* from the Udegei people, (Fig. 137), which can be found in the Russian Museum of Ethnography, having been acquired in 1931 from the Evgenii Shneider expedition. The artefact

[955] Sem, (2013): 88.
[956] Bowlt, Misler & Petrova, (2013a): 310.
[957] Ibid.
[958] Misler, (2013): 113.

is a painted wooden idol, 42 x 75 x 9.5cm, decorated with metal pieces, pearls and bearskin, and takes the form of an anthropomorphic figure with blue beaded eyes and bear-hide clothing sitting on the back of a decorated tiger. The idol represents the guardian spirit of the forest and was propitiated with porridge and vodka to gain success in the hunt.[959] Among the Udegei a man riding a tiger symbolised Teunki, the highest shamanic spirit, who was believed to act as a supreme guide throughout the cosmological realms. The figure would typically have a head and face which appeared animalistic, a symbol of his power and metamorphic nature. The tiger would be decorated with black discs along his torso, which were believed to act as armour against attacks from evil spirits, and his spine would be adorned with a black snake emblematic of his magic shamanic power.[960] Teunki was frequently called upon in healing rituals for his power as the supreme shamanic elder was incomparable. Again there does seem to be a resemblance between Filonov's beast and the idol, indeed, Filonov depicts a decorated indistinguishable beast with potential black discs, certainly 'blobs', along his torso, and an anthropic face with prominent rounded eyes. The other figures too are patterned with the largest revealing a prominent black spine. However, the colourful and highly patterened nature of Filonov's beasts is not found on this or other shamanic idols. Moreover, the existence of a visual similarity does not indicate a causal link of influence, and as has been said, Filonov himself does not ever state the specific influence of shamanism on his work. Nevertheless, the 'beasts' represented are a clearly anthropomorphised, and thus may suggest the artist's attempt to impregnate his work with therapeutic archetypal symbolism. Bowlt's, Misler's and Petrova's suggestion of the shamanic idol as inspiration would also have psychological implications. For as we have seen, the projection of unconscious motivations onto idols was a means by which 'primitive' man apprehended and assimilated the contents of his unconscious and developed his psychic ego. Although the credibility of this interpretation can only be speculative, it would appear that Filonov is attempting to reassert the archaic spiritualism and primal instincts associated with such sacred animals, and projects a means of psychological reunification into the threshold of the viewer's conscious.

Although the validity of shamanic idols as a source for the Russian avant-garde can be questioned, interestingly, the work of Filonov's contemporaries, Olga Rozanova, Vasilii Vatagin and Vladimir Markov demonstrates a more apparent shamanic influence. In 1913 Rozanova produced a series of sketches of idol-like figures, for example, *Tungus Shamans*, (c. 1913), (Fig. 138), in which she depicts an anthropomorphic figure and a tiger idol with written details beside

[959] Bowlt, Misler & Petrova, (2013a): 311.
[960] Sem, (2013): 88-90.

them, and, *Ostiaki Wooden Idol from the River Enisei*, (c. 1913), (Fig. 139), which also illustrates an anthropic spirit, reminiscent of the shamanic spirit used for the cure of tuberculosis, such works were likely to have been seen by Filonov.[961] Vasilii Vatagin encountered shamanism from his visits to the easternmost tribal regions of Russia, stretching the length of Lake Baikal to the Sakhalin Island. Here he witnessed the ritualistic culture and took part in several healing rituals of the Paleo-Siberian and Manchu-Tungus tribes, including the Nanai (Goldi), Orochi, Negidal, Udegei, Nibkhi and Koryaki peoples.[962] Throughout his visit and on his return Vatagin produced numerous art works connected to ritualistic aspects of shamanism. Most significant for Filonov is the image *Bear, Tiger, Boar, Wolf, wooden statuettes of the Gilyaki people, Nizhnii Amur,* (1927), (Fig. 140), in which Vatagin depicts a series of wooden idols, utilised for healing, including a patterned tiger in ivory decorated with red and blue stripes and protruding round eyes.

Vladimir Markov (Voldemars Matvejs) was a prominent member of the Union of Youth, a colleague and active supporter of Filonov, Goncharova and Malevich, and was one of the first art critics in Europe to examine the 'primitive' art of Africa.[963] He investigated the archaic artefacts of the Northern peoples which were in the St Petersburg Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences, and he may perhaps have drawn the attention of the avant-garde to the paradoxically modern characteristics of the shamanic artefacts through producing a manuscript containing his own photographs of them.[964] Markov's manuscript, *The Art of Northern Asia*, is now lost. Nevertheless, the photographic images have survived and can be seen in the National Library of Latvia in Riga. The manuscript would have been illustrated with around thirty photographs, the images of which were left by Karlis Āre to the National Library in the 1960s. Āre produced the set of photographic prints from Markov's original negative glass plates, which he subsequently destroyed. The chemicals used in the process were of a poor quality and the resulting prints are not in the best condition.[965] However, they do give us an insight into Markov's work and provide a potentially enlightening source to the art of Filonov, Malevich and Goncharova.

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961 Misler, (2013): 116.
962 K. Gavrilin, (2013). "Theosophy, Hinduism and Shamanism in the Russian Silver Age". In *The Russian Avant-Garde Siberia and the East*, edited by J. Bowlt, N. Misler & E. Petrova. Skira, Florence: 110, photo: 110.
963 Indeed, he worked tirelessly to promote exhibitions, support publications and provide resources for the artists of the Union of Youth C.f. Bužinska, Howard, & Strother, (2015).
964 See Bužinska, I. (2015b). "Markov's Legacy: Photographs for the "Art of North Asia"". In *Vladimir Markov and Russian Primitivism: A Charter for the Avant-Garde*, edited by I. Bužinska, J. Howard, & Z. Strother. Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Farnham: 129-136; I. Bužinska, (2002), ed., *Vladimir Markov, Stati. Katalog proizvedenii Pisma. Khronika deiatelnosti Soiuza molodezhi [Vladimir Markov, Articles. Catalogue of works. Letters. Chronicle of the Union of Youth activities]*. Catalogue of the exhibition at the State Museum of Art. Riga: 59-63; Bowlt, Misler & Petrova, (2013a): 253; Misler, (2013): 116; Bowlt, Misler & Petrova, (2013b): 21.
965 Bužinska, (2015b): 131.

Markov's research into Northern Asian art began in the autumn of 1913, whilst working with the Museum.[966] He became especially interested in the art work of the Amur region, located in northeast Asia, specifically the Nivkhs (Gilyaks), Nanais (Goldi), and the Oroch tribes.[967] His work companion, Varvara Bubnova, claimed that he was captivated by the purity and simplicity of the shamanic wooden idols of the region, and through this enthusiasm gained invaluable research aid from the museum ethnographers.[968] Markov's photographs of specific anthropomorphic idols attest to the assistance he gained from Lev Shternberg, the Senior Ethnographer of the museum.[969] Shternberg, in conjunction with the museum's director, Vasily Radlov, sought to establish a museum which could reveal the broad spectrum of culture and cultural interaction across the nations. During the late nineteenth-century, under political exile, Shternberg embarked upon several journeys to the Sakhalin Island, exploring the religious customs of the Nivkhs (Gilyaks), along with the tribes of the Tungus-Manchurian nation.[970] In 1910 he undertook another expedition to the Sakhalin region to further his original research, publishing findings on their ritualistic beliefs.[971] It is not surprising then that Markov's photographs all depict artefacts which Shternberg brought to the museum from his 1910 expedition.[972] These included several shamanic spirit figures from the Nanai (Goldi) tribe, and

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966 I. Kozhevnikova, (1984). *Varvara Bubnova. Russkii khudozhnik v Yaponii [Varvara Bubnova. The Russian Artist in Japan]*. M. Nauka, Moscow: 44.

967 Bužinska, (2015b): 129-130.

968 I. Kozhevnikova, (1994). *Uroki postizheniia: khudozhnik Varvara Bubnova: Vospominaniia. Stati. Pisma. [Lessons of Comprehension: The Artist Varvara Bubnova: Memories, Articles, Letters]*. Istina i zhizn, Moscow: 72-74.

969 Y. Mihailova, (2012). "L. Ia. Shternberg v Muzee antropologii i etnografii AN: Uspekhi i razocharovaniia" ["L. E. Sternberg Museum of Anthropology Ethnography AN: Its Successes and Disappointments"]. In *Lev Shternberg – grazhdanin, uchenii, pedagog. K 150-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia. Sbornik statei [Lev Shternberg- Citizen, Scientist, Educator. On the 150th anniversary of his birth. Collection of articles*, edited by E. Resvan. MAE RAN, St Petersburg: 10-22; P. Matveeva, (2012). ""Muzei obshchecheloveskoi kultury" eschche raz o roli L. Ia. Shternberga i V. V. Radlova v stanovlenii MAE" [""The Museum of universal culture" On the Role of L. E. Shternberg and V. V. Radlov in developing MAE"]. In *Lev Shternberg –grazhdanin, uchenii, pedagog. K 150-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia. Sbornik statei [Lev Shternberg - Citizen, Scientist, Educator. On the 150th anniversary of his birth. Collection of articles*, edited by E. Resvan. MAE RAN, St Petersburg: 22-27.

970 Bužinska, (2015b): 132.

971 L. Shternberg, (1900). "Obstraztsy materialov po izucheniiu giliatskago iazyka i folklora" ["Sample Materials for the Study of the Language and the Folklore of the Gilyaks"]. *Izvestiia Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk* [*Proceedings of the Imperial Academy of Sciences*]. St Petersburg: 4; L. Shternberg, (1908). *Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i folklora [Materials for the Study of the Language and the Folklore of the Gilyaks]*. Vol. 1. Tipografiia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, St Petersburg; also see A. Ostrovsky, (2012). "Problema pervobytnogo myshleniia v trudaki L. Ia. Shternberga" ["The Problem of Primitive Thought in the Writings of L. E. Sternberg"]. In *Lev Shternberg –grazhdanin, uchenii, pedagog. K 150-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia. Sbornik statei [Lev Shternberg- Citizen, Scientist, Educator. On the 150th anniversary of his birth. Collection of articles*, edited by E. Resvan. MAE RAN, St Petersburg: 232-240 for more on Shternberg's theories.

972 Bužinska, (2015b): 133; it is also worth noting that the resulting exhibition at the museum took the form of a "shaman gallery" displaying numerous elements of shamanic ritual including costumes, drums and sculptured idols. Indeed, the Museum guidebook of 1904 states that several shamanic ritualistic artefacts, including medicinal idols, belonging to the Nivkhs (Gilyaks) were on display in Hall No. 1, Case: No. 78. C.f. Kunstkamera guidebook, (1904). *Putevoditel po Muzeiu antropologii i etnografii imeni imperatora Petra Velikogo: otdel etnograficheskii, Imperatorskaia Akademiia nauk [Guide to the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography named after Peter the Great: Department of Ethnography, the Imperial Academy of Sciences]*. Kunstkamera Publications, St Petersburg: 36.

anthropomorphic wooden *Diuliin* spirits of the home.[973] Markov's photographs are of three spirit-helpers, who still retain traces of proprietary ritual on their mouths; a number of healing spirits; *Kalgama*, the deity of the rivers and mountains; the *Diuliin,* domestic guardians of the hearth; and the highest spirit of the taiga, clad in deer fur.[974] The photographs depict the idols from multiple viewpoints providing a complete impression of their sculptural forms. Markov focuses on close-ups of the heads, which Bužinska suggests was his attempt to express direct contact with the spiritual realm through the intimacy of the figure.[975] She argues that Markov's fascination with such shamanic sculptures was due to his interest in how he might convey, in an earthly manner, the spirituality of pre-Christian and pagan worship in ritual.[976]

Misler argues that Markov's photographs seem to have influenced the work of Malevich.[977] If we consider Malevich's pencil sketch, *Woman at Prayer*, (1910-11), (Fig. 141), indeed, the comparison with Markov's photographic style is striking (Fig. 142). Malevich's image appears to mimic Markov's method, with its distinctive blank background, potentially paralleling Markov's practise of taking pictures of idols in a museum context and largely against a blank canvas, and its style, for Malevich's grey-scale rendering in pencil perhaps attempts to capture the intimacy of the photographic medium. The disadvantage of Markov's method was that the idols were seen out of their shamanic context.[978] It is interesting that despite removing the idol from its ritualistic context, Markov was interested in its connection to nature and focused specifically on capturing the *faktura* of the sculptures, to illustrate a theology which associated divinity with humanity's connection to nature.[979] A concept that Jung would argue was part of the unconscious' expression to the conscious in an archaic language of nature.

In this sketch, possibly Malevich was influenced both by Markov's photography, and by seeing actual idols themselves, for Misler argues that the sketch closely parallels a shamanic idol known as the *Proprietary Spirit of the House*, belonging to the Nivkhi (Gilyak) people of Eastern Siberia's Island of Sakhalin, (Fig. 143), which was acquired by the St Petersburg Museum of

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[973] Howard. (2015): 32; I. Bužinska, (2004). *Voldemārs Matvejs/Vladimir Markov 1877-1914 in St Petersburg.* Catalogue of the exhibition at the State Museum of Art. Riga: 31.
[974] For more information on *Diuliin* spirits, particularly their function in Nanai (Goldi) shamanic culture c.f. T. Bulgakova, (2013). *Nanai Shamanic Culture in Indigenous Discourse.* Books on Demand, Germany: 125ff.
[975] Bužinska, (2015b): 132
[976] Bužinska, (2015b): 133
[977] Misler, (2013): 115.
[978] Ibid.
[979] Bužinska, (2015b): 135 Indeed, Bužinska suggests that Markov was keen to represent the dendrochronology of the wood's surface, and illustrate how such layering could be complemented by the craft of human hand in order to imply its expressive power and laconicism. Also see Markov's essay on *faktura*: Markov, (1914).

Ethnography in 1910, the same year that Malevich executed his sketch.[980] [981] As we have seen, the museum was a source of significant collections of idols, and numerous documentary photographs taken by researching ethnographers, which included images of idols in their appropriate ritualistic setting as per their specific therapeutic and symbolic function. The geometric rendering of the face in Malevich's image seems to equate to the strong oval of the Nivkhi (Gilyak) idol, while the dominant vertical is also characteristic of both works. The fine unblemished skin with soft shading is perhaps reminiscent of the distinctive texture and colouring of the wood, and the simplistic clothing may reflect the fragment of hide covering the torso of the idol. It would seem that there are certain parallels between the works, but it is important to acknowledge that Malevich's style also reflects other naïve representations of peasants. However, the parallels between Malevich's picture and the idol may perhaps imply that the artist intended to imbue this female peasant with the supreme spiritual and regenerative powers associated with such an idol, whose function was to ward off disease from the house in which it was placed. Given the supremacy which Malevich assigned to the peasant race, believing that they were a 'free spirit' race, much like the shamanic helper spirits of the taiga and the steppes, following in the ideological tradition of Gauguin and his representation of the Tahitian peasant, we might argue that Malevich utilises idol aesthetic practises and conflates them with his utopian vision of the peasantry to create an image imbued with the therapeutic properties necessary to encourage a social psychic regeneration fuelled by spiritual healing.[982]

Bowlt, Misler and Petrova argue that Malevich's later work also seems to show some inspiration from the shamanic idol tradition. The work *Head*, (1928-29), (Fig. 144), part of a series of works depicting 'heads', the curators of the exhibition *The Russian Avant-Garde Siberia and the East* postulate, appears to parallel the aesthetic system of shamanic ceremonial masks. For example, *Ritual Mask*, from the Koryak people in Kamchatka, (Fig. 19), an artefact acquired by the Russian Museum of Ethnography in 1909-11 from the Iokhelson expedition.[983] Malevich's work acts as a dramatic rendering of a head, a large white oval against a dark emerald background, with an elongated prismal nose formed from three sloping triangles in yellow, white and blue, adjoined by two small slit-like eyes with vacant black pupils and is completed with thin pursed vermilion lips. Such conventions perhaps mirror the oval visage of the *Ritual Mask* with its prominent triangular nose in the centre, adjoining linear eyes and thin protruding mouth,

[980] Misler, (2013): 115, photos: 23.
[981] Bowlt, Misler & Petrova, (2013a): 258.
[982] Exhibition plaque for Malevich's *Woman at Prayer* (1910-11) in *The Russian Avant-Garde Siberia and the East*, Exhibition, (27th September 2013 – 19th January 2014, Palazzo Strozzi, Florence).
[983] Misler, (2013): 114; Bowlt, Misler & Petrova, (2013a): 251.

indeed, Malevich's black semi-circular chin appears to reflect the darkening of the wood in the lowest section of the mask. However, in this depiction Malevich may well have been inspired by other 'primtive' masks, such as those from Africa, or he may have chosen to merely reduce the human face to its basic geometric forms, and given that the artist does not specifically state shamanism as his source, the curators' interpretation cannot be wholly conclusive. Interestingly, Malevich depicts his white head balancing on a red rectangular neck, while a vermillion rectangle stretches the bottom length of the canvas to form shoulders, and at the back of the 'head' a curved black triangle forms hair. This could be suggestive of a figure wearing a mask, for the plain geometric qualities of the 'body' appear as though behind the mask-like face and the ebony areas are evocative of shadows. The curators further postulate that Malevich's depiction could perhaps parallel the shamanic custom of hanging masks from a nail on the wall in the house between ceremonies, so that its mystical powers might ward off evil spirits, while the mask itself signified the status of the occupant, a spiritual leader or shaman.[984] The *Ritual Mask* chosen by the curators as an inspiration to Malevich, was worn to procure success in the autumnal hunt of the sea of the Koryak peoples. The shaman and his neophytes would adorn the mask and visit every home in the village, at the end of which, the mask was hung on the western side of the village as a guarantor of the regeneration and health of its peoples through vital produce.[985] It would seem then that Malevich's work has the potential to generate certain psychological effects, for we might argue that by utilising such iconographic 'primtive' schema he has permeated his work with a mystical regenerative significance and attempts to facilitate psychological reunification through meditation on his work.

Parton argues that in Goncharova's Neo-primitivist rendering of *Saint Panteleimon* (1911), (Fig. 6), she illustrates a shamanic idol figure, which appears to form the trunk of a flowering tree, depicted in the right hand corner of the work.[986] A figure perhaps modelled on wooden idols such as the *Protector Spirit for Hunting and Fishing,* (Fig. 145), an artefact made of carved birch wood and belonging to the Khanty (Ostiak) People, found in the Russian Museum of Ethnography, having been acquired from the Sergei Rudenko expedition of 1909-10.[987] Such an artistic portrayal is perhaps evocative of the animistic veneration of plants among Siberian shamanic tribes, who frequently carved anthropic or metamorphic faces into the bark of revered trees and propitiated them to achieve success in ritual, specifically in ceremonies associated with healing or prosperity in the hunt. There appears to be some paralleling of form between

[984] Bowlt, Misler & Petrova, (2013a): 306.
[985] Ibid.
[986] Parton, (2010): 144.
[987] Bowlt, Misler & Petrova, (2013a): 253, 260, 309.

Goncharova's 'primitive' figure and the shamanic idol. The tree sprouting from her idol perhaps enhances the connection with such a ritualistic function, whilst also evoking the notion of the sacred veneration of trees in shamanic ideology. However, the anthropomorphising of trees is of course common to many mystical 'primitive' tribes and is not peculiar to shamanism. Moreover, without any specific evidence from the artist herself one could just as likely argue that the staff could be modelled on other 'primitive' or idol representations, or even merely a roughly-hewn tree-trunk or stick, and indeed, as will be shown later, the Christian symbolism of this saint is connected to trees, so perhaps Goncharova's depiction has a more archetypal intention. However, Misler postulates that Goncharova may have taken inspiration from contemporary documentary photographs taken of shamanic tribes, such as those taken by Surgei Rudenko during his 1909-1910 expedition, for they were widely circulated among the avant-garde at the time. The most worthy of note is his photograph of a hunting and fishing guardian spirit carved into a birch tree by people of the Khanty (Ostiak) tribe in the Tobolsk region, (Fig. 146), which was accessible from the Russian Museum of Ethnography.[988] In addition, Goncharova's contemporary, Mikhail Matiushin, began a prolific series of 'primitive' sculptures c. 1910, which utilised tree roots and branches to manifestly express 'the movement of matter', for example, *Primitive Man*, (1913), (Fig. 147). The purpose of these sculptures was to demonstrate that the inherent energy of organic growth has the ability to generate living beings, a conception which was likely inspired by the vitality associated with shamanic revered idols carved in trees.[989] [990] Matiushin's sculptures appear to mimic the smaller shamanic idols representing protector spirits, especially among the Koryak peoples, such as, *Protector Spirit of the Family*, (Fig. 148), a wooden artefact acquired by the Russian Museum of Ethnography from Iokhelson's 1909-11 expedition. Such idols were made from a single branch of a sacred tree, using branches of unusual shape to create fluid contours evocative of motion, which were believed to bring good fortune to the clan.[991] It would seem likely that Goncharova would have been aware of such aesthetic conventions, but even if she were not, through the use of an iconic Christian saint depicted in a profoundly 'primitive' manner and combined with a symbolic tree she appears to be attempting

[988] Misler, (2013): 113, photo: 69.
[989] For the artistic manifestation of the research and ideology of Matiushin's Organic School C.f. I. Wünsche, (2012). "The Evolution of Human Eyesight: Mikhail Matiushin's Organic Culture in Russian Avant-Garde Art". *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Art*. Vol. 12, Issue 1: 24-28; for more detail see O. Botar & I. Wünsche, (2011). eds., *Biocentrism and Modernism*. Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Farnham: 130; Misler, (2013): 114, 116.
[990] Such an artistic conception continued into the 1920s, for example, Velimir Khlebnikov's sister Vera illustrated his novel *Snezhimochka, [Little Snowflake]* (c. 1920), with the work, *Linden Tree Man*. C.f. Bowlt, Misler & Petrova, (2013a): 255, 306.
[991] Bowlt, Misler & Petrova, (2013a): 308.

to imbue her work with the archetypal language required to facilitate the reunification of the consciousness.

It is interesting that of all the saints of Orthodox hagiography Goncharova chose to depict Saint Panteleimon in this image, a saint who was venerated for his role as a Holy Unmercenary Healer and Great Martyr. Panteleimon, born Pantoleon, was the son of a pagan, Eustorgius and his Christian wife, St Euboula. Since his mother died when he was very young, Pantoleon attended a pagan school. He studied medicine, under the tutelage of Euphrosynus, a renowned physician. Later Pantoleon attracted the attention of Emperor Maximian who desired his appointment as the 'royal physician' once his schooling was completed. After healing a dead child, through invoking the aid of Christ, Pantoleon was baptised 'Panteleimon', meaning 'all merciful'. The saint dedicated his life to healing, treating patients free of charge, and visiting captives in prison to restore their health. News of his philanthropy spread and people began seeking only his treatment, forsaking practised doctors. Consequently, he was brought before the Emperor. Maximian, wishing to save him, begged him to renounce his sacred idols, but Panteleimon refused, confessing his Christian faith and healing a paralytic in front of the Emperor. Furious at his blatant disobedience Maximian tortured him, and when these means had no effect on the saint he was finally beheaded whilst tied to an olive tree which sprouted fruit on his death.[992] In Goncharova's depiction, the tree encapsulating the saint is flourishing with bright blossom, and one might argue that the sprouting of olives is the reason for her depiction of a flowering tree. However, the primitive figure depicted in the trunk of the tree could have a pagan significance too, and so it would appear that Goncharova is representing an archetypal image, for she combines the spiritualism of both pagan and Christian traditions to create an image resounding with universal significance.

Goncharova's extensive study of religious icons would have drawn her attention to the saint, whose veneration in the Russian Orthodox Church had taken hold in the early twelfth century. One of the oldest churches in St Petersburg is the Church of Saint Panteleimon, which was originally built to commemorate Russia's military victories over the Swedes in 1714 and 1721, both of which occurred on the feast day of Saint Penteleimon (July 27th), and hence he was supplicated during both military and spiritual warfare.[993] The fact that Goncharova chose to represent this saint, complete with his healing attributes, a spatula and compartmented medicine box, perhaps conflated with a 'primitive' symbolic tree is significant, for it represents an extra

[992] C. Jockle, (1995). *Encyclopedia of Saints.* Alpine Fine Art Collections, London: 359.
[993] C.f. R. Zguta, (1978). "Witchcraft and Medicine in Pre-Petrine Russia". *Russian Review.* Vol. 37, No. 4: 438-448.

dimension to her Neo-primitive aesthetic. She implies that the telos of her artistic expression is to heal, and she demonstrates that the achievement of this philanthropy will be through the establishment of a universal spiritualism, a fundamental archetypal language.

With the underlying notion of universal healing cemented as the ultimate telos of their artistic mission, the avant-garde began to seek an artistic rhetoric which would facilitate a state of cosmic equilibrium, the metaphoric expression of Jungian psychological holism. The avant-garde had assumed the role of Jungian prophets that they might use their innovative aesthetics as a means to facilitate moral, social, cultural and spiritual regeneration, in a society whose corruption they believed could only be healed by the psychic power of artistic expression. In assigning such an idealised status to art the avant-garde perhaps pre-figured Jung's path to psychological holism, for the unconscious must utilise the primarily symbolic means at his disposal to facilitate the transcendence of the archaic language of nature to the conscious, and hence achieve the ultimate healing of universal equilibrium. They appear to empower art as a psychic facilitator, utilising profound Jungian archetypal imagery to achieve ultimate psychological healing, with a rich pool of mystical imagery to draw on in order to communicate this psychic mission.

In the manifestation of this aim, Goncharova was inspired by the philosophy of Nietzsche, who postulated that modern society had become ultimately flawed due to its escalating capitalism, rapid urbanisation and its promotion of a defective middle-class morality. Modernity advocated a 'herd instinct' and had reduced the potential of its culture to the 'heights' of the common denominator. Nietzsche believed that it was necessary to liberate oneself from the corruption of the modern condition, by fundamentally expressing individuality, through engaging in 'creative spontaneity'.[994] Nietzsche's arguments profoundly affected the youth across Europe, who had become despondent with 'enlightened' modernism, and sought to reconnect with archaism, promoting an ancient bond with nature, nudism and free love.[995] Nietzsche's views inevitably had an impact on Goncharova and Larionov; his work was soon translated into Russian and instantly became the topic of academic debate.[996] The Neo-primitivist aesthetic, with its focus on 'primitive' cultures, in opposition to the contemporary bourgeoisie, and its execution in a manifestly spontaneous and vibrant manner, subverting the mimesis of academic convention, acts as an apparent cultural response to Nietzsche's argument, for by promoting

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994 C.f. F. Nietzsche, (1886). *Beyond Good and Evil*. Translated by H. Zimmern. (2012). Cricket House Books, Madison.
995 Parton, (2010): 144.
996 G. Tasteven, (1907). "Nitssche i sovremennyi krizis" ["Nietzsche and the Crisis of Modernity"]. *Zolotoe runo [The Golden Fleece]*. Nos. 7-9: 110-115.

archaic societies and their artistic methods, it wilfully subverts modern society along with its conventions and practises.[997]

In terms of her iconography, Goncharova chose the rural peasant, in particular the peasant woman, as the paradigmatic emblem of the spiritualism, and 'primitive' archaism, which she hoped to promote as a means to facilitate social psychic regeneration. Malevich declared:

> "Goncharova and I worked for the most part, in a peasant context. Each of our works bore content, our people, although expressed in primitive forms, carried a social message."[998]

By working in this context, Goncharova was entering into an established dialectic, which opposed the town, emblematic of foreign civilisations, against the country, symbolic of indigenous culture.[999] As such she became "indissolubly bound with Russian culture", and acted as a pioneer against the erasure and assimilation of the indigenous Russian heritage, a "liberator of the Russian spirit," a facilitator of unconscious access to the conscious.[1000] Goncharova and Malevich worked in the innately therapeutic conventions established by Gauguin and his understanding of the 'primitive'.[1001] Paul Gauguin can be regarded as the cardinal figure of modernist primitivism, for he was the first artist to truly appreciate the 'primitive' aesthetic expressions and their ultimately symbolic nature as a means to challenge the academic conventions of depicting the world. Although the formal characteristics of Gauguin's work are largely indebted to advancements in Western modernism, such as the colour of Cézanne and the orientalism of Degas, what was revolutionary about Gauguin was that he changed artistic perceptions of the 'primitive'. The value Gauguin placed on 'primitive' art grew from a tradition of literature and thought which centred on defining the 'primitive man' as a 'Noble Savage', an innocent, unspoiled being, whose pure virtues, ritual spiritualism and simple thoughts were raised up in damning contrast to the pejoratively shallow artifice of so-called civilised Europe. The anticipation of Jung's belief that 'primitive' man had a greater psychic capacity than modern man, for the conscious and unconscious levels of his psyche worked 'in sync' due to his understanding and assimilation of his connection to nature, and his capacity to apprehend the numinous.

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997 Parton, (2010): 144

998 N. Khardzhiev, (1940). "Maiakovskii i zhivopis" ["Maiakovsky and Painting"]. In *Maiakovskii: Materialy i issledovaniia [Maiakovsky: Materials and Research]*. Khudozhestvennaia Literatura, Moscow: 359.

999 Zdanevich, (1913): 9-10; indeed, Leo Tolstoy, among other Russian literalists, had already established a rhetoric which associated being a peasant with being paradigmatically Russian, for this information I am indebted to Trenton Olsen who noted that Tolstoy dressed in peasant attire to illustrate his rejection of academic Westernisation in his talk; "Fallen Womanhood in the Late Russian Empire", presented at the CCRAC conference: Cultural Exchange: Russia and the West II, (10th December, 2013).

1000 Zdanevich, (1913): 12.

1001 Milner, (2014): 36.

Gauguin produced utopian visions of a rural idyll, a place both paradoxically evocative of a lost past and a specific locus in the present, where mankind's original goodness and happiness, prior to the restrictions of civilisation, is celebrated.

The complexity of Gauguin's artistic primitivism lay in its dualistic nature, for it refers to the notion of an illustrious original condition, and it advocated that these values are inherent within man himself. Consequently, the confrontational opposition between the 'primitive' savage and enlightened civilisation is ultimately an expression of man in a battle within himself as he struggles to assert his own instinctive 'naïve' persona above the weaknesses of his sophisticated civilisation, an inherently Jungian assertion. Gauguin invents a utopian construct based on the projection of the 'primitive' ideals inherent in us onto the external artistic rendition of 'them', with the aim to enable modern society to criticise itself and ultimately to bring about an internal social reformation.[1002] This was what attracted contemporary avant-garde artists, such as Malevich and Goncharova, for by utilising Gauguin's rhetoric they were able to promote the archaic values of ritual spiritualism, whilst also invoking an internal psychic regeneration in society as a result of its own self-critique and the subsequent re-establishment of the naïve values of the 'original' yet innate condition.

Goncharova specifically developed the notion of the heightened spirituality of the 'feminine other', a conception inspired by Gauguin's representation of the Breton peasant woman.[1003] Art-historians argue that Gauguin utilised the image of the female Breton peasant as a means to symbolise piety, mystical spirituality and rural simplicity to create the 'primitive' 'myth'.[1004] Gauguin's peasant women, engaged in conventional tasks and dressed in typical costume, advocate the notion that women are more intimately related to God and nature than men, who were believed to be more rational and intellectual, thus emblematic of 'civilisation' and the urban ethos, a metaphor for the unconscious and conscious levels of the human psyche and specifically the detriment of modern man's rationalism on his psychic condition.[1005] The female

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[1002] Varnedoe, (1988): 179 -181, 185; John Milner notes the importance of Gauguin in our understanding of Russia's relationship with the West through his ideological ideas surrounding the Eastern 'other' established in his *Noa Noa*. John Milner discussed this in his closing keynote speech at the CCRAC Conference on 10th December 2013; Gauguin was certainly accessible to Goncharova and her contemporaries, as he was widely collected by the Russian patron Sergei Shchukin and his works were displayed in the manner of an iconstasis in Shchukin's living room, c.f. A. Konstanevich, (1993). "Russkie sobirateli frantsuzskoi zhivopisi: dva klana" ["Russian Collectors of French Painting: Two Clans"]. *Morozov i Shchukin –Russkie kollektsionery. Katalog vystavki [Morozov and Shchukin, Russian Collectors: Exhibition Catalogue]*. Museum Fokmwang, Essen/Hermitage, St Petersburg/Museum of Fine Art, Moscow. Bild-Kunst, Cologne: 64.

[1003] C.f. Sharp, (2006): 201.

[1004] F. Orton, & G. Pollock, (1980). "Les Donées Bretonnantes: La Prairie de la Répresentation". *Art History*. Vol. 3, No. 9: 314-344.

[1005] The conflation of women with the land as a suggestion of her heightened morality was a tradition which was also established in Russia, c.f. the work of Kiprensky (1772, 1806) argued by R. Blakesley, (2013). "Painting at a

image signified that which had been lost, the inherent archaic spiritual language of the unconscious, in the ever-burgeoning world of masculine 'enlightened' modernity. Gauguin began to idealise the female Breton peasant and utilised her as an emblem of a conceptualised state of primitivism, which he installed in a cultural conflict against the escalating materialism and capitalism that defined nineteenth-century French society. Although Gauguin is criticised by feminist art historians for his evident chauvinism in his reduction of women to a mere symbol of a 'primitive' conception, his apparent idealisation of women as having a heightened spiritual dimension was a rhetoric adopted by Goncharova, who imbued her peasant women with great figurative and psychic power.[1006]

One apparent representation of this can be found in *Women going to Church*, (1910-1911), (Fig. 149), a paradigmatic celebration of the feminine other. Goncharova's painting exudes piety, a deep spirituality intrinsic to the peasant women, and represents a sense of holistic cultural mysticism, rooted in the reverence of nature, which had been inherent in their culture since a pagan era. The work depicts Palm Sunday, when it was customary for women to carry blossoming willow branches to their church. This practise was reminiscent of archaic fertility cults, symbolised through the sprouts and blossoms which evoked the renewal of nature in spring.[1007] Such emphasis on regeneration could perhaps be an archetypal expression, for as we have seen, this expression of rebirth is an essential aspect of Jung's 'archetype of initiation'. The painting reflects the reverence of certain healing properties to be found in nascent blossom, particularly that of the willow. The medicinal properties associated with the willow were well-documented; it was probable that Goncharova had come across them, not least due to her connection with Kandinsky, who had reviewed Ivanitskii's compendious volume *Materials on the Ethnography of Vologda Province*, edited by Kharuzin. In this book on the native customs of the Vologda region, Ivanitskii had devoted several pages to accounts about shamanic healing rituals utilising willow, and reports concerning superstitions connected with the therapeutic relief of various illnesses, including a list of specific herbs and plants which the Vologdan peasants used for their medicinal qualities.[1008] According to Ivanitskii, the willow was valued particularly for its

Distance: Russian Artists Abroad from the Age of Catherine the Great". Paper presented at Cultural Exchange: Russia and the West II: CCRAC Conference, Cambridge University, December 10.

[1006] Parton, (2010): 130.

[1007] In his recent monograph on Goncharova, Anthony Parton identified *Women Going to Church* as a representation of Trinity Sunday c.f. Parton, (2010): 133. However, his subsequent discovery of a painting on the same subject which has the title *Verbnoe Voskresene [Willow Sunday/Resurrection]* inscribed on its verso makes clear that *Women Going to Church* also represents this subject.

[1008] Weiss, (1995): 28, 38-9.

bark which was used in an infusion with tea as a cure for sporadic fevers.[1009] Such a reference underlines the regenerative telos which Goncharova hoped to achieve through the medium of her art work.

If we consider *Women Going to Church*, (Fig, 149) in the context of Kandinsky's earlier painting, *Sunday (Old Russia)*, (c. 1904), (Fig. 150) the 'primitive' associations of Goncharova's vocabulary become more apparent. In his work, Kandinsky illustrates the archaic veneration of Palm Sunday which centred around an amalgamation of both pagan and Christian beliefs. In Old Russia, Palm Sunday had become known as 'Verbnoe voskresenie', or 'Willow Sunday/Resurrection', and was emblematically celebrated with a procession of willow branches. The willow was used because it had a particular pagan spiritual significance as a symbol of spring and renewal. Among the native peasants the willow had long been revered as a therapeutic emblem because of its effective medicinal properties.[1010] Such a context enhances the notion that Goncharova's pious peasant women carry willow blossom, and thus she also refers to the archaic veneration of Palm Sunday. It has recently been discovered that in 1910 Goncharova painted a work entitled *Peasant Women: Willow Sunday* (Fig. 151), which is executed with almost the exact content and manner as her *Woman Going to Church*. Such a depiction would allow her to evoke a fundamentally universal spiritualism, for it combines the reverent customs of two belief-systems. Although no willow stems can be seen in Kandinsky's completed painting, a small sketch, (Fig. 152), found in a notebook associated with the "Sunday (Old Russia)" theme, which depicts a crowd of people dressed in costumes ambling in front of a walled city, reveals a character holding a large pronged stick, which is likely to be a willow branch. This sketch provides evidence that Kandinsky was aware of the pagan reverence for 'Verbnoe voskresenie'. Additionally, he knew the medicinal properties of the willow, both from his review of Ivanitskii's work, and from his visit to the Vologda region. It is not that surprising that the artist would omit such a fundamental element as the willow in the final version of the work. Such an omission was typical of the Symbolists, and was a strategy that Kandinsky both valued and employed throughout his artistic *oeuvre*. He says to Münter "Perhaps it is...much better never to say the last holiest word."[1011] He adds, "The content, the inner must only be felt...the thing must resonate, and through this resonance one comes gradually to the content."[1012] An emblematic statement about the unconscious content the artist wishes to express. What is most significant about this

[1009] N. Ivanitskii, (1890). *Materialy po Etnografii Vologodskoii Gubfernii [Materials on the Ethnography of Vologda Province]*. Works of the Ethnography Department, St Petersburg: 153; C.f. Ivanitskii, (1882): 182-185.
[1010] Weiss, (1995): 38-9.
[1011] Ibid: 40.
[1012] Weiss, (1995): 40, citing a letter from W. Kandinsky to G. Münter dated 31st January 1904?

painting is that it demonstrates, even at this early stage in his artistic career, Kandinsky's emphasis on representing resurrection and healing as allegorical for the necessity of cultural psychic rejuvenation.[1013] It provides a mystical context with which to view Goncharova's work in the establishment of a universal spiritual vocabulary which would facilitate cosmic equilibrium, the manifestation of psychic holism.

Goncharova connected her 'feminine other' with the East, for by relating the peasant woman to archaic, ritualistic practises, she implies her intrinsic connection to the heightened, spirituality and power of Eastern mystical practises. Goncharova fundamentally celebrated the East, which is clear in her statement:

> "Now I shake the dust from my feet and leave the West, considering its vulgarising significance trivial and insignificant –my path is toward the source of all arts, the East…I am opening up the East again, and I am certain that many will follow me along this path."[1014]

It is interesting that she declares the East as 'the source of all arts', for it is indicative of the social and artistic value she placed on her conception of the East. In this manner she sets up the East as a 'grand narrative' from which stemmed all European Modernism, and further, she advocates that the 'East essentially contained the West'.[1015] Goncharova would announce: "the West has shown me one thing: everything it has is from the East."[1016] Thus she worked in the Slavophilic tradition, which advocated that Russia's messianic destiny lay in her archaic Eastern heritage, rather than by any connection to the West.[1017] Such a conception may be explained by the Jungian belief that man's psychic potential can only be achieved by the apprehension and assimilation of our fundamentally spiritual and archaic unconscious motivations. Goncharova's promotion of the East, as an essentially spiritual and archaic realm, signifies her promotion of the unconscious, and her notion that everything in the West comes from the East, implies that the conscious, associated with the 'rational' impoverished West, can only be fulfilled if it is reunited with its origins in unconscious motivations. Goncharova presents her depiction of the East in works, such as, *Women going to Church*, (1910-11), (Fig. 149), as a life-source, a facilitator of a social, cultural and spiritual renewal which diametrically opposed the dying morality and

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[1013] Ibid.
[1014] N. Goncharova, (1913b). "Predislovie" ["Foreward"]. *Vystavka kartin Natalii Sergeevny Goncharovoi. [Exhibition of Paintings by Natalia Sergeevna Goncharova]*. Khudozhestvennyi Salon. Exhibition Catalogue. Moscow. In *The Documents of 20th Century Art: The Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism 1902*-1934, (1976), translated by J. Bowlt. Viking Press, New York: 55-56.
[1015] E. Dygot, (1999). "Creative Women, Creative Men and Paradigms of Creativity: Why have there been Great Women Artists?" In *Amazons of the Avant-Garde: Exter, Goncharova, Popova, Rozanova, Stepanova, Udaltsova*, edited by J. Bowlt & M. Drutt. Guggenheim Museum Publications, New York: 105.
[1016] Goncharova, (1913b): 55-58.
[1017] Parton, (2010): 142.

corruption of Western modernity.[1018] She does so by establishing a prevalent meta-narrative through the figure of the peasant woman, who is idealised as the emblematic personification of the spiritual unconscious, and therapeutic elements which she so highly valued in Eastern mysticism. Goncharova represents her peasant women with a certain hieratic solemnity which imbues them with a resounding moral integrity. She evokes their social cohesion, a metaphor for psychic cohesion, by painting them with generic characteristics and gestures to highlight the uniformity underlying their society and their psyches.[1019] In this manner Goncharova asserts her idealism of the feminine principle, which through its association with the East, signified the value of traditional, indigenous Russian culture, and subverted the sterile, Western, masculine principle, which signified materialism, urbanism, and technological advancement at the expense of natural phenomena. It acted as an archetypal expression, imbued with symbolism, which Goncharova employed as an attempt to facilitate social and cultural psychic regeneration.[1020]

Malevich was deeply inspired by Goncharova's representation of the idealised peasant society as a symbolic archetype to inspire societal psychic rejuvenation. He developed his own aesthetic, formulated from the rhetoric of both Goncharova and her predecessor Gauguin, which highlights man's 'primitive' instincts to enforce modern self-critique and conscious assimilation to bring about social psychic healing. Although the majority of Malevich's works in the peasant context appear to be from his early career, in the later works his individual artistic personality becomes more apparent. If we consider *Head of a Peasant* (1928-1932), (Fig. 153), we see that Malevich embeds his peasants in the landscape by executing the figures and the scenery in his own geometric cubist style and in a similar colour palette, a convention which emphasises man's inherent connection to nature. The indistinguishable characteristics of the peasants and the fact that they form a horizontal barrier across the canvas, highlights the social cohesion of peasant society, an evocation of psychological holism, and induces the need for universalism in the modern world. This work forms part of Malevich's second peasant cycle, a series of works characterised by their monumental appearance, scene-scapes devoid of weight and containing geometric robotic protagonists who signify the 'everymen', or 'budetlyane', 'men of the future', new heroes who cannot be distinguished as individuals, but are rather a certain type of person, one who exists outside of conventional time and beyond any cultural nationality, the manifestation of universal archetypes with a reformed unified psyche.[1021] The most dominant

[1018] Ibid: 484.
[1019] Ibid: 150, 152, 472.
[1020] Ibid: 133.
[1021] Interestingly this painting recalls an early work also called *Head of a Peasant* from 1909-1910, unfortunately now destroyed, which in 1925 the critic Halle referred to as "The New Saviour". Malevich would subsequently respond

feature of the work is the geometric head which fills the vertical frontal plane of the canvas, which the curators of the exhibition *The Russian Avant-Garde Siberia and the East* argue demonstrates Malevich's use of the aesthetic conventions of shamanic idol sculpture which he executes in his own defined language of modernity.[1022] It would appear that the rectangular planes which create the elongated shape of the head, particularly the curved rhomboids which form the crown, mirror the artistic execution of certain shamanic idols, for example, the *Proprietary Spirit of the Mountains and the Woods*, (Fig. 154), belonging to the Ulchi peoples of Eastern Siberia. Acquired from the Aleksandr Zolotorev Amur expedition in 1931, the artefact is a wooden anthropomorphic figure with a rectangular curve-topped head, basic geometric body and no arms which represented a *Kalgama*, a ritualistic idol associated with the forest and utilised by the shaman for therapeutic purposes.[1023] However, as has been said Malevich could have been drawing from other 'primitive' sculptures and representations, or he could have been reducing the human face to its basic geometric forms, so the shamanic association cannot be conclusively argued. If we accept that Malevich is employing such archaic conventions portrayed in a modern artistic language then we might claim that he imbues the work with a sense of primal mysticism, and highlights the necessity of spiritualism for modernity to reunify their consciousness, whilst enhancing a psychic healing capacity in the work through evoking the therapeutic associations of idols in ritualistic culture. Malevich depicts aeroplanes in the background of the work, the paradigmatic symbol of modernity, an archetype of transcendence, the liberation from the enlightened conventions of modern society. Thus Malevich utilises the established conventions of Gauguin's 'primitive myth', where modern society is coerced into self-critique, conscious assimilation and subsequent psychic regeneration through the vision of an idealised peasant society whose primal instincts reflect their own basic unconscious desires. He conveys this in his own distinctive modern language which enables the viewer to apply such 'primitive' archaic visions to the modern context and undergo a therapeutic psychic transformation.

In addition to the idealised peasant rhetoric, Goncharova believed that a specific representation of nature could inspire spiritual transformation and healing. In her early career she became aware of the insufficiency of the artist to truly capture the intensity of nature's vitality. As a result she adopted a symbolist paradigm whereby she would attempt to evoke

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"But Halle…does not know that all 'New Saviours' always lead back to the Old Saviour, because in every age he is but one in different forms". This statement implies that Malevich saw the peasant protagonist as a pre-figured Jungian saviour, one who transcended time and culture and thus could incite societal healing and salvation. C.f. E. Petrova, (2014). "From Suprematism to Supranaturalism: Malevich's Late Works". In *Malevich*, edited by A. Borchardt-Hume. Tate Publications, London: 202-203.

[1022] Bowlt, Misler & Petrova, (2013a): 307.

[1023] Ibid.

nature and emblematically express it through the artifice of her art. In the practise of painting Goncharova believed that she could partake in the creative spirit that had both generated and continued to animate the universe. She developed a heightened intuition to perceive the relationship between our physical realm and a higher metaphysical one, and to conceive of nature as a façade to mediate access to this higher noumenal realm of the spirit. To communicate and connect with nature was to communicate and connect with the unconscious spirit, and Goncharova's paintings of still-lives and landscapes depicting nature, were a means of facilitating access to the noumenal world beyond our phenomenal existence, the outward manifestation of the unconscious. In such works, she frequently emphasised certain trees or plants whose therapeutic significance had roots in pagan ritual.[1024]

One significant example of this is *Sunflowers*, (1910), (Fig. 155). In the painting Goncharova works within the tradition established by Van Gogh, who controversially undermined the conventional practise of the still-life genre, by painting flowers which were considered ugly by the refined bourgeoisie, flowers which were valued for their utility rather than their beauty. His sunflower was emblematic of his promotion of the peasant culture of Provencal, and the value he placed on their mysticism and 'primitive' activities, a critique against the degradation of the belle-époque. In this work, Goncharova also subverts the conventional mimesis of the academic tradition, by utilising a gauche palette of vibrant yellows, a schematic depiction of form, thick brushwork creating an expressive *faktura*, and a cramped composition, characteristics all reminiscent of the artistic practises of peasant culture.[1025] The sunflowers depicted resound with individual significance to the artist, for she conflated them with her experience of a youth spent in the Russian countryside.[1026] They are emblematic both of the life-force of nature's seasons and of peasant rituals, for it was the peasants who harvested sunflowers in the Tula province.[1027] Her work equates to Van Gogh as a promotion of a 'primitive' culture which appears to be being lost, and as a subversion of the current values of modernity, the promotion of the unconscious and our apprehension and assimilation of it, as a subversion to the 'psychic dislocation' caused by Enlightened modernity.[1028] Goncharova added a further dimension to her work, she utilised the sunflower oil having pressed it from the seeds, in the

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[1024] Parton, (2010): 480.
[1025] Ibid: 148.
[1026] M. Tsvetaeva, (1929). "Nataliia Goncharova (zhizn i tvorchestvo)". ["Natalia Goncharova (Life and Work)."] *Volia Rossi.* Nos. V-VI, VII, VIII & IX. Prague. Reprinted in (1969). *Prometei*, *[Prometheus]*. No. 7. Moscow: 138.
[1027] For Goncharova, the spirituality of nature was also highlighted by connotations with fecundity and the richness of the landscape, such conventions were inspired by Gauguin's Tahitian landscapes, this was noted by John Milner in his closing keynote speech for the CCRAC Conference on 10th December 2013.
[1028] Parton, (2010): 148.

painting.[1029] This is significant because Goncharova attributed healing qualities to sunflower oil and hence she imbues her work with a regenerative property.[1030] If we extend the significance of such properties, we can see the artist expressing her attempt to heal her fractured society from the corruption of modernity. Thus Goncharova's work acts as a model of Jungian collective archetypes imbued with regenerative significance and aimed at facilitating psychological healing to the individual viewer and by extension to society as a whole.

For Kandinsky, the means by which to generate cosmic equilibrium was through the development of the abstract language. In 1911 he created his first abstract painting. Kandinsky's breakthrough to abstraction has pre-figured Jungian overtones, for in moving away from representational art he hoped to create art works which would be transcendental, their visual form resonating within the viewer, who should be transported into another realm through the expressive qualities of the work.[1031] Inded, Jung argued that abstraction was the artist's outward projection of his unconscious onto the canvas. The assignment of transcendental capacities to the plastic elements of art allowed Kandinsky to tune into his and the viewer's unconscious through transcendental archetypes. In *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* (1912), Kandinsky likened representationalism with the materialistic values which dominated his declining age. He felt that abstraction offered a means to communicate anti-materialistic, spiritual values, values needed to facilitate the reunification of the consciousness.[1032] The importance of his need to oppose representationalism was to heal the individual by awakening their soul to the spiritual values which are essential for the generation of the utopian epoch, an epoch governed by man at the height of his psychic potential.[1033] Kandinsky ended his pioneering work *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* (1912), with the optimistic proposal: "We have before us the age of conscious creation, and this new spirit in painting is going hand in hand with the spirit of thought towards an epoch of great spiritual leaders."[1034] In this statement we see Kandinsky's apparent belief that his painting could be a fundamental tool for social change. He advocates 'conscious creation', the creation of a conscious which is realigned with the unconscious. A suggestion further enhanced by the argument that painting had a particular aim – "the improvement and refinement of the human

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[1029] M. Tsvetaeva, (1929). "Nataliia Goncharova (zhizn i tvorchestvo)", ["Natalia Goncharova (Life and Work)."] *Volia Rossi*. Nos. V-VI, VII, VIII & IX, Prague. Reprinted in (1979). *Izbrannaia proza v dvukh tomakh 1917-1937: Tom pervyi*. [*Selected Prose 1917-1937 In Two Volumes: Volume One.*] Russica Publishers, New York: 318.
[1030] Parton, (2010): 148.
[1031] Dabrowski, (2003): 79-80; King, (1998): 30.
[1032] R. Washton-Long, (1983). "Kandinsky's Vision of Utopia as a Garden of Love". *Art Journal.* Vol. 43: 50; Washton Long, (1975): 217; Bowlt, (1980): 11.
[1033] R. Washton-Long, (1980b): "Kandinsky's Vision". In *The Life of Vasilii Kandinsky in Russian Art: A Study of On the Spiritual in Art*, edited by J. Bowlt, & R. Washton-Long. Oriental Research Partners, Texas: 44.
[1034] Kandinsky, (2006): 112.

soul."[1035] He believed that no other power could take the place of art in achieving this objective. "Art", he states, was "one of the mightiest elements" of the spiritual life, a "complicated but definite and easily definable movement forwards and upwards."[1036] We can see that Kandinsky clearly felt that an artistic revolution defined by his innovative modernist aesthetic could heal his degraded society.[1037]

However, Kandinsky was aware of the dangers presented by total abstraction, arguing that art composed purely of colour and form would lead to "works which are mere decoration, which are suited to neckties or carpets."[1038] [1039] His belief in the communicative power of abstraction sprang from his conviction that an abstract style would have an international and universal appeal.[1040] If this artistic language were to be universal and therapeutic, it must be understandable by all, but Kandinsky feared that the total abandonment of the representational object would hinder the artist's capacity to communicate effectively.[1041] In this Kandinsky exemplifies the danger of abstract art as identified by Jung. For Jung argues that abstract art was the portrayal of a psychic anxiety, warning that non-representational art, whilst embodying the expression of the unconscious, could also be dangerous to its creator, for the artist was in danger of becoming a passive victim of the unconscious, and thus he must balance his expression with a conscious element, creating an overall impression of the united individual consciousness.[1042] [1043] Kandinsky concluded that his new artistic language should be created by the concealing and encoding of residual representational relics which would mean his imagery was hidden and yet partially visible.[1044] He argues that it is not "geometrical constructions" that will valiantly express the new, spiritual age, but "something that appeals less to the eye and more to the soul." He calls upon the "concealed construction", which "may arise from an apparently fortuitous selection of forms on the canvas. Their external lack of cohesion is their internal harmony."[1045] Kandinsky most eloquently describes his aims for these paintings in his *Cologne Lecture* (1914), he states:

[1035] Ibid: 106.
[1036] Ibid: 12.
[1037] Washton-Long, (1983): 45.
[1038] Düchting, (2007): 39.
[1039] Kandinsky, (2006): 91.
[1040] See Kandinsky's discussion of "the three mystical necessities" in (1912a): 80 ff.
[1041] Washton-Long, (1980b): 51; Washton Long, (1975): 217.
[1042] Of course by the time that Jung was writing "abstract art" also encompassed the post-modernist movements which climaxed in the 1950s and it may be this style of "abstract art" which Jung refers to as negative psychologically.
[1043] Jaffé, (1964): 311, 316.
[1044] Hoberg, (2009): 30; Washton-Long, (1980b): 51; for a discussion of Kandinsky's process of creating hidden images in his paintings, see Washton-Long, (1980a): 56- 74.
[1045] Kandinsky, (2006): 103; C.f. Ringbom, (1970): 62ff. This discusses annotations that Kandinsky may have made of Steiner's works, in addition to mentioning a lecture cycle of Steiner's which he believes Kandinsky owned.

> "I did not want to banish objects completely...objects in themselves, have a particular spiritual sound, which can and does serve as the material for all realms of art....Thus, I dissolved objects to a greater or lesser extent within the same picture, so that they might not all be recognised at once and so that these emotional overtones might thus be experienced gradually by the spectator one after another."[1046]

Through this "concealed construction", Kandinsky aimed to circumvent the materialism associated with representational art while still enabling the spectator to understand the work through his use of recognizable yet fundamental motifs. Kandinsky believed that his use of the "hidden image" would facilitate the spectator to have a primary role in the creation of the work almost as if he were participating in a mystical ritual.[1047] In the same way that in many mystical healing ceremonies the spiritual practitioner involves the spectators in the healing process. The spectator, being compelled to utilise his psychic faculties to decode symbolic mysterious images, would then be involved in the artist's healing process which allowed him to gain understanding gradually as he views the work, it trains his conscious to apprehend and assimilate unconscious motivations. Kandinsky believed that involvement in the creation of art would by extension imply involvement in the creation of the world, a metaphor for the outward projection of our unconscious.[1048] Thus we can understand Kandinsky's adoption of a Jungian role. He believed that it was his moral duty to use his art work as a therapeutic means of cultural, social spiritual rejuvenation and psychological healing, something which he expresses both in his literature and his art.

Filonov's elaborate theories and intricately detailed works, resultant from intensive toil, were his means to communicate the messianic, utilitarian mission of art. He was profoundly convinced that his method of 'Analytical Art' would liberate and ultimately heal the fractured soul of humanity, and would facilitate the necessity of social rebirth.[1049] In this prophetic purpose of art Filonov pre-figured the inherently Jungian principle of ultimate social and cultural psychic healing through the establishment of equilibrium. Filonov underlines his utilitarian mission in his definition of the principle of *zdelanost* [madeness] and the ideology of 'Analytical Art'.[1050] He states:

> "Madeness, the made object, the principle of madeness and the connected ideology of Analytical Art can be reduced to the following: it presupposes the ability to comprehend

[1046] Kandinsky, (1914): 396.
[1047] Washton-Long, (1980b): 50.
[1048] C.f. Kandinsky, (1913a).
[1049] Indeed, his wife, Ekaterina states, "He was convinced that his ideas were needed, modern and would break a road through into the future." C.f. Petrova, (2006): 95; Bowlt, (1975b): 283, 292.
[1050] The term *zdelanost* is difficult to translate into English and is perhaps best conveyed through the concept of 'madeness'.

> any and every phenomenon in art, in all its interrelationships, by research and intense analytical exertion...Furthermore, it presupposes the ability to understand what has to be done and the ability to 'make' (or, as fools say 'create', 'paint') any work you need with any material, so that the artist and spectator are affected by its maximum professional and ideological value. It presupposes the ability to get as much as possible out of the work itself while you're involved with it –out of the practical (potential) and many other interrelationships which emerge while you're at work –i.e. the ability to enrich yourself intellectually while working. It presupposes the ability to have a correct goal in all situations, to find (sometimes instantaneously) the answer to any question arising from the most varied ideological and material interrelationships in IZO, and the ability to carry on working and fighting for fulfilment with the utmost precision and effectiveness...First and foremost, it means revolution in the psyche of every IZO worker and revolution in every sphere of global art."[1051]

Thus we can see the overwhelming benefit that Filonov assigns to his art: for he believes that through the power of his art he can fundamentally improve the psyche of the artist himself, and of the viewer, and by extension of the entire populous. As we have seen, for Filonov, obtaining a heightened state of perception was the highest possible condition for the artist. He placed great value on the developed faculty of intuition for it was only through developing this psychic faculty that the artist could transcend the earthly realm and access the true nature of reality. When Filonov here postulates a revolution in both the human psyche and the art world we can understand the ultimate healing mission of his ideology.

Such a positive interpretation of art's purpose has further significance when we consider what Filonov meant by the word 'revolution', or rather 'r-evolution'. As has been stated, the 'principle of madeness' is reliant on a methodical persistent working method based on the intuitive analysis of all natural phenomena. However, this painterly toil, whilst reliant on elaboration, duration and expressive of organic growth, must cease at a certain point, its visual realisation on the canvas. Thus the painted canvas is simultaneously infinite and finite, for it is a finite visual realisation expressive and allegorical of an infinite process. This concept Filonov termed 'expedient orientation' for it was at the moment of realisation that the painting could transfer the beneficial psychological impact it had on the artist to the viewer. It was the 'expedient orientation' that determined the 'r-evolution' of the viewer's psyche. The word is a neologism, embodying both the psychological progressive evolution of the human intellect and the evolutionary processes expressed on the canvas.[1052] He states:

[1051] Bowlt, (1973a): 35.
[1052] Misler (1983a): 26.

> "When the master has ceased to influence the painting (i.e. his work on the painting), it begins to act upon the viewer with the same orientation, the same meaning and the same force as the master acted upon himself."[1053]

He later advocates this as a positive process:

> "First and foremost, he who makes the object in art is the one who gains: he benefits from the process of making the work and from the finished product. The viewer is the second beneficiary… it is a force that affects the viewer eternally, through many generations, like a social truth or falsity."[1054]

Thus the processes of viewing the work is beneficial at the moment of the viewing, and the archetypal truths that it expresses and the means through which they are expressed, are valuable for 'eternity'. He justifies his use of a painterly language to fulfil his ideology, for:

> "Painting is the artist's universal language accessible to all. This language is incorporated into the viewer's consciousness in an integral deduction that sometimes cannot be translated into words."

Painting is the ultimate medium of expression for it is a language which is at once intuitive and universal. It has the capability to access and express unconscious motivations, and to train the conscious to apprehend and assimilate them. Similarly, the spectator of Filonov's works, on viewing them, ultimately develops his intellect through his intuitive appreciation of a universal language, and given the supreme condition assigned to a heightened intellect, is subsequently therapeutically benefitted.

Filonov acknowledges that this process is not an easy one, he states:

> "No matter what is the subject of a picture, since craftedness reflects and fixes permanently in material form the struggle of humans to become a higher intellectual species and their struggle for existence as a species, this higher psychological characteristic of art affects viewers. To put it another way, art both raises us up and calls upon us to rise higher."[1055]

In this notion Filonov pre-figures Jung's concept of the internal psychic struggle as it attempts to train the conscious to apprehend and assimilate unconscious motivations. The conception of struggle as the pursuit of something higher is referenced by Filonov here; it implies the importance of art as the means to achieve social rebirth and psychological healing.

[1053] Filonov, (1923a): 145.
[1054] Ibid.
[1055] Filonov, (1977): 227.

Such a prophetic understanding of art is expressed most apparently in Filonov's canvas *Victory over Eternity* (1920-21), (Fig. 156), which acts as a visual manifestation of his aesthetic techniques. A rhythmic undulation of geometric fragments engulf the picture surface in a swirl of oscillating colours, creating a seemingly incomprehensible mirage formed from the internal organic processes of natural phenomena executed with minute detail. Filonov paradoxically utilises an abstract language to convey the hyperrealism of his image, his intricate canvas assimilates the highest extent of 'madeness' and utilises the universal language of painting. Filonov overwhelms the viewer with the power and impact of his art, and both the artist and the viewer, and by extension the populous as a whole, through their intuitive apprehension of the canvas, are cured from psychological inertia.[1056] Hence Filonov exemplifies a 'victory' over the eternity of the human condition, as he utilises his art for the Jungian ideal of psychic equilibrium, which is paralleled in the universal harmony profoundly expressed in his interpretation of life's eternal processes on the canvas. He commences his quest ascending into the future of a 'higher order', a utopian condition of a society and culture healed from the ailments of human limitation.[1057]

Filonov assigned a universal dimension to his art, believing that the predicates of his ideology could be apprehended by the entire populous, he states:

> "I shall speak of how to make art… how to introduce it to the public at large as an active force –at first in the Soviet Union and then worldwide."[1058]

He advocated the 'democratisation' of the arts, believing that the masses had the mental capacity and the universal right to apprehend and subsequently benefit from his art. He refused to sell his works instead he regarded them as universal property and dreamt of leaving his entire *oeuvre* to the public in a museum of 'Analytical Art', whereby people could view his work in the organic sequence that he had intended and thereby gain the maximum possible from it both ideologically and intuitively.[1059] He states:

> "Inasmuch as my works have exclusive and decisive importance in European art I am preserving them, whatever the circumstances. I am not selling them. I wish to donate

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[1056] Petrov, (2006): 70.
[1057] Indeed, Ekaterina was aware of this sense of an apprehension of the future in Filonov's works stating: "Yes these pictures are the property of the future. Just as the music of Wagner is still not accessible to everyone, it raises man above everyday feelings, giving him the sensation of a higher order." Fund 156, No. 34, (1921), Sheet 37 verso; c.f. Petrova, (2006): 88.
[1058] P. Filonov, (1922-24). "I Shall Speak. A Lecture". In *Pavel Filonov: A Hero and his Fate*, (1983), edited by J. Bowlt, and N. Misler. Silvergirl, Inc., Hong Kong: 225; c.f. Misler, (1983b): 109.
[1059] N. Misler (1983a): 25; Bowlt, (1973b): 31; Petrov, (2006): 72.

> them to the Party and the government so that a special museum of Analytical Art can be created from them."[1060]

In this profound universalism Filonov perhaps expreses the Jungian telos of social and cultural healing via the achievement of the cosmic psychic equilibrium, a state which Filonov aimed to create in the apprehension of his entire artistic *oeuvre* by the whole of humanity. We are left with the impression which Ekaterina so adequately sums up:

> "He combines the creations of our earth with the creations of the world above the stars…If he spoke not in paints, which are, unfortunately, still inaccessible to the masses, but in human tongue, he would be the lever that would overturn the whole world –and there would be paradise on earth."[1061]

Having defined a language characterised by its healing properties, Goncharova and Larionov sought a more overt means of expressing the universal holism of cosmic psychic equilibrium. Underlying their radical Neo-primitivist aesthetic was a belief that there is a universal visual language, based on common symbolic archetypes, which resonated through all the diverse 'primitive' sources they utilised. Neo-Primitivism was an attempt to identify the roots of popular creativity and to tap directly into these origins to create art works which resounded with universal power. For if their art was imbued with holistic symbolism then it could be an expression of reinvigorated modernism, and could evoke a primal influence that was able to generate individual and social psychological healing.[1062] Such a conflation between archaic traditions and radical modernism can be found in Larionov's simultaneous organisation of and the implied relationship between *The Exhibition of Icon Patterns and Lubki* and the *Target Exhibition* of March (1913), which culminated in the establishment of *Vsechestvo*. As we have seen, Russia's confusion over her authentic national identity had led to the conflation between her conception as a civilised European intellectual and an 'exotic' savage.[1063] It was enshrouded by such confusion that Larionov and Goncharova sought to establish the principle of *Vsechestvo*, whereby certain aesthetic principles could be considered to be 'timeless' and act as unifying elements between the conscious and the unconscious in an otherwise fractured social and cultural psychic environment.[1064] Such a conception is inherently Jungian for the artists sought to establish universal archetypal art-forms and then utilise them for social and cultural healing.

[1060] C.f. P. Filonov, (1922-1940). "Occasional Notes". In *Pavel Filonov: A Hero and his Fate*, (1983), edited by J. Bowlt, and N. Misler. Silvergirl, Inc., Hong Kong: 299-311; c.f. N. Misler (1983a): 27.
[1061] Fund 156, No. 35, (1922), Sheet 6; c.f. Petrova, (2006): 96.
[1062] Parton, (2010): 174.
[1063] Warren, (2003): 30-1.
[1064] Kovtun, (1998): 82; Parton, (1993): 56-7, 63.

Larionov did this first by assuming an inherent connection between his and Goncharova's trangressive modernist aesthetic, through the presentation of their innovative rayist movement in the *Target Exhibition*, and the primary examples of Russia's archaic and national art, demonstrated in his icon exhibition. Such a connection was implied by the fact that Larionov ran the two exhibitions concurrently in the same gallery, Mikhailova's Salon, in Moscow.[1065] The icon painting exhibition comprised of 640 artefacts, which included 300 icons and *lubki* taken directly from Larionov's personal collection, along with a vast number of oriental prints, Persian miniatures and examples of ethnic art. Although Goncharova did not exhibit any of her work in this show, she did write an essay, *Indusskii i persidskii lubok*, which was printed in the exhibition catalogue, in which she postulated that Eastern art was superior to Western art due to the conceptual nature of its representation, for whilst Western art merely imitated nature through academic mimesis, Eastern art captured it in plastic form.[1066] Her rayist work dominated the *Target Exhibition*, and given the connection evidently implied between the two shows, the 'primitive' artefacts of the icon painting exhibition were suggested as direct sources for the artists' radically modern rayist style. At the same time the imperial court were also organising exhibitions in St Petersburg, such as the *Second All-Russian Exhibition*, (1913), to celebrate the tercentenary of the Romanov dynasty. These imperial celebrations were designed to emphasise the connection between the Tsar and the 'narod' or people, rendered symbolically through the peasant.[1067] They were mass spectacles organised primarily to counter the ever prevalent challenges to autocratic rule that had led to the fracturing of society in the 1905-7 revolutions, and the continued sense of fragmentation and unrest across the empire.[1068] Whilst both Larionov's icon exhibition and the imperial celebratory exhibitions exploited the desire of the contemporary Russian to view examples of authentic 'national' art, the underlying framework for such nostalgia was fundamentally different between the events. For whilst the imperial exhibits attempted to reassert the autocratic dominance of 'Russian' culture over the other 'lesser' nationalities in the empire, Larionov's exhibition progressively postulated that the imperial definition of national culture was inherently false.[1069]

Instead of the imperial vision of 'national culture', the problems with which were evidenced by the escalating social unrest, what Larionov and Goncharova sought to establish

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[1065] Warren, (2013): 52-3.
[1066] Goncharova, (1913c): 11-12.
[1067] R. Worman, (2006). *Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy: From Peter the Great to the Abdication of Nicholas II*. Princeton University Press, Princeton: 378-83.
[1068] Ibid: 377.
[1069] Warren, (2013): 5, 52-3.

was *Vsechestvo*, a conception whereby 'timeless' archetypal forms could be established and visually expressed through art, in order to have a therapeutic psychological effect on the viewer. It had the potential to bring about a unified harmony between the disparate cultures of the vast Russian empire, hence micro-cosmically evoking the ultimate macro-cosmic aim, cosmic equilibrium, or psychological holism. The term *Vsechestvo* was derived from the Russian *vse* [everything].[1070] It was defined by the principle that "there can be an infinite number of forms to express an object and they can all be equally beautiful."[1071] A concept denoted by Zdanevich in his hagiographical lecture 'Goncharova and Everythingism', he states:

> "Goncharova is the most important of the Everythingists. She is, so to speak, the Tsarina of Everythingists, blending together in her work the primitive sculpture of the Negroes of Madagascar, the art of the bushmen, the beauty of Japanese prints, the depth of mysterious secrets of the East, and the dizzying speed of work created by the West."[1072]

Consequently, all artistic styles were perceived as qualitatively equal. The practise of art was considered as a vivacious continuum with the diversity of styles as aspects of its varied and constant materialisation. The different artistic expressions in the history of art were not judged qualitatively as they originated from a common source.[1073] Goncharova explained the spiritual nature of this origin: "A spark of the spirit lives in us, it is connected with all spirit. It is divine. It is drawn to other, similar sparks. This is the urge to creation."[1074] In this statement Goncharova appears to refer to the unconscious, an inner spiritual element within us, which is inspiring her creative vision. Such a conception explains Goncharova's practise of mediating and appropriating a vast range of visual modes. Although Goncharova utilised these sources, she did so in a manner that was ultimately distinctive to her, she acted as a "painterly chameleon" who adapted styles to construct her own self-generated myth which suited her expressive needs.[1075] Such a holistic view of art subverted the conventional evolutionary assessment, which qualitatively evaluated art by regarding its position in the historical advancement of art, and considered ancient styles as inferior for they had been surpassed by 'greater' modes of expression in the development of modernism. *Vsechestvo*, in contrast, advocated that all styles across all

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[1070] Chamot, (1979): 10.
[1071] N. Goncharova, (1912). "Pismo k redaktoru *Russkogo slova*" "Letter to the Editor: *Russian Word*". In "Natalia Goncharova: Two Letters". *Experiment: A Journal of Russian Culture*. Vol. 1. Institute of Modern Russian Culture, Los Angeles, (1995), translated by T. Durfee. Original source Manuscript Division of Russian State Library, Moscow. F. 259, R.S., 13 ed., khr., 4: 163.
[1072] S., (1913) The review is not signed, so the only reference available is the initial S.
[1073] Parton, (2010): 16.
[1074] Letter (1954). N. Goncharova to M. Chamot, dated 8th December, private collection UK.
[1075] Sharp, (2006): 257-8, 260.

periods were of equal value in both significance and expressiveness due to the fact that they all contain the 'spark of spirit'.[1076]

Vsechestvo redefined the conventional understanding of the passage of time, arguing that a sequential conception of time, which had misjudged archaic art as being only relevant to the past and not the contemporary, was misguided. The Everythingists "proposed to suspend any differentiation between past, present and future."[1077] Such a notion was rooted in fourth-dimensional theory. For Ouspensky had postulated that our traditional comprehension of time is inherently flawed, since it emerges from the misconceived perception of the impact of fourth-dimensional motion acting on three-dimensional space, and that in the true noumenal reality of manifested unconscious expression, time should be viewed as an infinite continuum, where past, present and future occurred simultaneously. Larionov declared:

> "The most astounding and the most contemporary doctrine –Futurism –can be transferred back to Assyria or Babylon, while Assyria with its cult of the goddess Astarte and the teaching of Zarathustra can be transferred into what we call our own time period."[1078]

In this quote, Larionov collapsed contemporary Futurist modernism, monumental Assyrian and Babylonian sculpture, and 'Old Russian' *lubki* into one ecstatic revelation, advocating that certain aesthetic qualities can transcend the restrictions of the historicist's notion of 'time periods.'[1079] In other words his aesthetic language would resound with timeless Jungian archetypes facilitating psychological healing. Larionov stated that his innovative aesthetics had 'destroyed time':

> "…time was destroyed by the extra-temporal and the extra-spatial. The resultant sensation reigned as a self-sufficient infinity….The value and goal of a work of art cannot be examined from a historical perspective. So the definition and examination of art relate only to art itself and in all other cases to everything that surrounds it."[1080]

As Livshits so succinctly sums up:

> "Everythingness was extremely simple: all ages and movements in art were declared equal. Each of them served as sources of inspiration for the Everythingists who had conquered time and space."[1081]

[1076] Parton, (2010): 216-7; such a plural vision may also perhaps have been a response to the diversity of the modern condition, c.f. Sharp, (2006): 254, 258.
[1077] Tupitsyn, (1933): 21.
[1078] M. Larionov, (1913c). "Foreword", *The First Exhibition of Lubki, Organised by D. N. [sic] Vinogradov, 19-24 February*. Moscow. In *Experiment*. Vol. 1. 1995, translated by J. Bowlt.: 173.
[1079] Warren, (2013): 70.
[1080] Larionov, (1913): 172-3.
[1081] Livshits, (1933): 165.

Thus Goncharova and Larionov had truly mastered a pre-figured Jungian expression, by advocating the concept of *Vsechestvo* they had created a holisitic equilibrium, and by postulating the notion of time as an infinite continuum, they had defined an art that could transcend phenomenal reality, and, through the expression of timeless universal archetypes, could ultimately heal the fractured social and cultural psychic environment in which they worked.

Perhaps the zenith of Larionov's visual expression of the ultimate healing through the establishment of cosmic equilibrium can be seen in his *Seasons* series, (1912), (Fig. 157). This series of paintings has been described as "the crudest but most charming of Larionov's works", and appears to act as a visual culmination of Larionov's 'primitive' influences.[1082] It embodies the ultimate utilisation of universal archetypal imagery to reflect cosmic psychic harmony throughout time in its entirety. Larionov exhibited *Spring* and *Summer*, with his rayist works in the St Petersburg Union of Youth and in the Moscow World of Art exhibitions in December 1912, and he completed *Autumn* and *Winter* during the course of these exhibitions. Parton argues that a shamanic aspect of the works can be seen by the fact that they are all divided into four segments, a reference to the shamanic cosmology, which the shaman traverses in the course of his soul journey. For in shamanic pictographic portrayals, their cosmology is depicted in sections separated with crude, asymmetrical lines, just as in Larionov's works. Indeed, he cites a schematic Buriat drawing, (Fig. 158), in which we can see the visual resemblance, for it portrays the different levels of the cosmology being illustrated, from the 'earthly' realm at the bottom, to the 'heavenly' realm at the top, with each spiritual and physical sphere plainly demarcated by crude black lines.[1083] Parton continues the suggestion of shamanic allusion by arguing that in the works we can see; the 'earthly' realm being accommodated at the bottom half of the canvases with two segments, and the 'heavenly' realm, positioned at the top half of the canvases also divided into two segments. The first section of the 'earthly' sphere acts as a 'descriptive square' which describes, in poetic verse, the human activities and climatic conditions pertaining to the season represented, a device taken from Russian *lubki*.[1084] The description in *Spring* states; "Serene beautiful Spring with bright flowers with white clouds," and in *Summer*; "Burning Summer with storm clouds scorched earth with blue sky with ripe grain". While in *Autumn* we have; "Happy Autumn sparkling like gold with ripe grapes and intoxicating wine," and in *Winter*, "Winter cold

[1082] Parton, (1993): 50; Lodder, (1995): 641.
[1083] Parton, (1993): 50; drawings on shamanic drums described in Czaplicka, (1914): 220-22; Eliade, (1964): 172, also utilise these devices.
[1084] It is also interesting to note that Larionov utilises other devices taken from Russian *lubki*, such as the phonetic spelling of "happy", in the verse *Autumn*. Writing phonetically rather than etymologically was frequently found in *lubok* scripts. C.f. Warren, (2013): 76.

snowy windy of storms armour-clad and ice". Next to this section, Parton argues that there is the visual reflection of the 'earthly realm' which schematically depicts the human habits undertaken by the peasants which take place in the specific season represented. Parton postulates that the two upper sections refer to the supernatural 'heavenly' realm. There is a 'natural square' which pictographically depicts elements of the natural world and potential animal tutelary spirits, evocative of the fruitfulness of nature, and the 'divine square' which illustrates the deity who presides over the detailed season, and hence we have a visual expression of the higher noumenal realm.[1085] However, it is important to note that the sub-division of the canvas is not exclusive to shamanic aesthetic systems and is prominent in other artistic traditions too, for example, the representation of heaven and hell in Christian iconography, and indeed, is a device common in Russian *lubki*, especially with the inclusion of areas of 'primitive' text. Consequently, perhaps it is more appropriate to argue that Larionov uses this spiritual, universal and popular folk device to create a genuine archetypal expression. Larionov, in dividing his paintings in such a manner provides a universal framework and implies the desire for cosmic equilibrium, a manifestation of psychological holism.[1086]

Parton further argues that Larionov in his *Seasons* series utilises the pictographic and schematic style with which shamanic depictions illustrate their cosmology.[1087] The manner with which Larionov illustrates his works does appear to have certain parallels with the shamanic schematic style. The figures are portrayed as crude, schematised shapes coarsely outlined with rigid contours, and pictured in monochrome colours, to create a stark contrast with their roughly painted backgrounds. The surrounding objects, spirits, birds and trees are placed in a seemingly random order, with the picture-space treated awkwardly so that some images appear squashed onto the canvas, a 'primitive' style reminiscent of shamanic drawings. However, such an aesthetic schema is common throughout naïve representation and does not specifically connect Larionov's work to shamanism without additional evidence from the artist, and therefore perhaps again suggests archetypal expression. The curators of the exhibition *The Russian Avant-Garde Siberia and the East* drew parallels between the pictographic schemata of Larionov's *Seasons* with that of the *Shamanic Drawing* of the Nanai (Goldi) People of Eastern Siberia, (Fig. 159), a coloured drawing on fabric illustrating the myth of the world's creation, which had been acquired by the Russian Museum of Ethnography from the Petr Shimkevich expedition in 1896-7.[1088] Larionov's crudely executed people and animals in his *Seasons* appear to mirror the 'primitive' rendering of

[1085] Parton, (1993): 50, 111-2.
[1086] Warren, (2013): 76.
[1087] Parton, (1993): 50, 92.
[1088] Bowlt, Misler & Petrova, (2013a): 246-7; Bowlt, (2013): 42.

anthropomorphic and zoomorphic spirits in the drawing. The artist's obvious segmentation also is perhaps reminiscent of the cosmological division of the work, which depicts the three realms of the Nanai (Goldi) cosmos, the heavenly world, in which solar trees, dragons and heavenly figures are represented, the phenomenal world, in which the ancestors and tiger spirits are shown, and the lower world in which snakes reside.[1089] Significantly, the Nanai (Goldi) shamans utilised depictions interpreting the creation myths as part of their healing rituals. If Larionov is referencing such visual representation then he would appear to be imbuing his works with the therapeutic function of such pictographic drawings, and demonstrating his desire for healing through the psychological associations drawn from viewing his work. Either way, he seems to create an aesthetic that utilises a visual alphabet of a universal archetypal pictorial language, the desire and intended actualisation of cosmic equilibrium.[1090]

Parton further postulates that shamanic symbolism can be found in the schematised birds and tress which litter Larionov's works. For the birds universally depicted in the 'supernatural' realms of the canvas, symbolic of their spiritualised status, are painted in a 'primitive' pictographic manner, and are placed largely floating from the shoulder of the deity, a symbolic position hinting at the apprehension of the ecstatic trance. A potential graphic reference to the appearance of tutelary bird-spirits in the ritualistic practise and iconographic depiction of Siberian shamanism, and the expression of the Jungian 'archetype of transcendence'.[1091] Parton continues that in *Spring*, the divine figure seems to fall sideways, perhaps referencing the fact that on entrance into ecstatic trance, the shaman often falls to the ground and lies recumbent as his spirit floats from the body to traverse the cosmos. While in *Winter*, the deity is depicted with a 'zig-zag' line emanating from her mouth, perhaps evocative of the ecstatic chant by shamans to facilitate transcendence.[1092] Moreover, he argues that schematic trees which appear in *Spring*, *Autumn* and *Winter*, are reminiscent of the pictographic portrayal of the shamanic 'world tree', in many Buriat illustrations. Indeed, in *Spring* and *Autumn* the pictographic tree also appears in the 'earthly' realm, which Parton postulates may well be a reference to the symbolic function of the 'world tree' as a micro-cosmic *axis-mundi* , a signifier of unconscious access to the conscious. Such a suggestion is further argued by the surrounding presence of schematic birds and winged-figures which implies the mystical role of the tree.[1093]

[1089] Bowlt, Misler & Petrova, (2013a): 304.
[1090] Ibid: 95, 112; Kovtun, (1998): 99.
[1091] Parton, (1993): 50, 92.
[1092] Ibid.
[1093] Ibid.

Whilst such iconography has potential shamanic allusions, it is also prominent in other traditions. Birds, in their 'primitive' execution, may well refer to the escalating value being placed on children's art at this time. Their inherent connection to the deities in these works has a pagan significance, for the spirits of birds are often associated with good harvest, in particular with corn and wheat.[1094] Camilla Gray has noted a connection between the pictographic character of the work and Siberian embroidery; certainly this can be seen in the depiction of the two trees illustrated in *Autumn*, and the cat portrayed in the 'heavenly' realm in *Winter*.[1095] The deities that Larionov represents in the series are also symbolic of a conflation between both classical and archaic Russian motifs. For in Pompeian and Roman frescoes which illustrate the seasons, the imagery connected with each season is the same as that chosen by Larionov. Spring is a woman with flowers, Summer a woman with a sickle and ear of corn, Autumn is connected with grapes and the fermenting of wine, and Winter wears a wrap for warmth, and Larionov portrays these symbolic emblems in the square he has assigned for the 'divine'. In fact, Parton has suggested that the deities in Larionov's series are portrayals of "Flora, Ceres, Bacchus and Boreas".[1096] This classical symbolism is conflated with Larionov's subversion of the archaic icon tradition. For the divinity of *Autumn* is represented in a pose which imitates the Virgin with her hands raised and viewed in a frontal posture, a potential amalgamation of Orthodox Christianity with a nude deity of pagan spiritualism. Moreover, the manner with which Larionov displayed these works at the *Target Exhibition*, as a panel, is perhaps a parody of iconstasis.[1097] Thus the paintings epitomise an eclectic vocabulary of symbolism from the naïve and 'primitive', to the tribal, archaic and classical, all combined to create rich expressive realms of vibrant colour and image, an "artistically teasing" presentation of universal primitivism, a manifestation of Jungian archetypes with the capacity to stimulate psychological reunification.[1098]

For Malevich, the apotheosis of the use of aestheticism to establish cosmic equilibrium came through the desire to construct a utopian landscape. The stimulus for such an apparently idealistic vision came from the 1917 Revolution, for to artists, it was an indication that the 'old order' had been destroyed, and there was a need for the establishment of a 'new order' founded on industrialisation. As Malevich advocated: "Let us seize [the world] from the hands of nature

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[1094] J. Frazer, (1913). *The Golden Bough: A Study in Music and Religion, Part V: Spirits of the Corn and of Wild*. Macmillan Press, London; c.f. Parton, (1993): 112, 94.
[1095] C. Gray, (1961). *Larionov and Goncharova*. Exhibition Catalogue. London: No. 40.
[1096] Parton, (1993): 112.
[1097] Ibid: 88.
[1098] Benois' review of Union of Youth describing *Spring*, in Benois, (1912): 3; V. Vanslova, (1977). *Russkaia progressivnaia khudozhestvennaia kritika vtoroi poloviny XIX – nachala XX veka: Krestomatiia*. Izobrazitel noe, Moscow: 597.

and build a new world belonging to [man] himself."[1099] The Revolution imbued Malevich's innovative artistic discoveries with a sense of purpose, a long-sought direction for his energies.[1100] The necessity to construct a new order was founded on an idealised utopian vision, a world governed by social and cultural psychic unity and harmony. Malevich was not alone in this vision. In the 1920s Tsiolkovsky published his vision of utopia in the novel, *Vne Zemli (Beyond Planet Earth)*. Tsiolkovsky was a pioneer of rocket design in Russia and his novel is centred around a fantasy of flight in space, encompassed by the locus of a perfect civilisation transcending time. Khlebnikov, in *Edict of the Presidents of the Globe*, (1922), was transposing his mathematical historical analyses onto other planets, such as Jupiter, Uranus and Saturn, to apply a cosmological extension to his harmonious rhythmic ideals. Inspired by these visionaries, Malevich formed a utopia dominated by arithmetical and geometric relationships, advocating that if we can provide geometric harmony in the natural environment then by extension social psychic harmony can be achieved.[1101]

In the early 1920s Malevich began to transpose his Suprematist vision into an architectural form so that he might become a constructor of therapeutic psychological harmony. It was at this time that architecture began to be viewed as the unifying art form.[1102] Malevich exhibited six drawing of his architectural models at the Venice Biennale in 1923. Subsequently, he created plaster models, which he named *Arkhitektons*. As with his Suprematist canvases the kernel of Malevich's architecture lay in 'flight', it demonstrated his yearning to express the phenomenological experience of flight, and was reminiscent of the transformative nature he imbued it with, an architecture that could provide the means to transcend the conventional phenomenal realm and achieve cosmic equilibrium.[1103] As Lissitzky states, "the static architecture of the Egyptian pyramids has been superseded –our architecture revolves, swims, flies."[1104] Malevich's architectural constructions were neither functional nor practical but rather acted as blue-prints conveying subliminal messages to the builders of the future. He often called them 'blind architecture', reminiscent of the white purity of infinite flight, or 'planets', emblematic of their cosmic nature.[1105] The buildings have a solid weight and yet they appear to float, inhabiting

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[1099] Malevich quoted in Gray, (1962): 219.
[1100] Ibid.
[1101] Milner, (1996): 177-8, 185.
[1102] Andersen, (1970): 31.
[1103] M. Gough, (2014). "Architecture as Such". In *Malevich*, edited by A. Borchardt-Hume. Tate Publications, London: 161.
[1104] Cited in S. Küppers-Lissitzky, (1968). *El Lissitzky: Life, Letters, Texts*. Thames & Hudson, London.: 326; C.f. Milner, (1996): 189-90.
[1105] Golding, (1975): 106; Gray, (1962): 167: Gough, (2014): 161.

the surrounding space as a planet seemingly unaffected by earthly conventions.[1106] As Malevich had stated "let…flying houses prepare for flight."[1107] A note attached to one model reads '…the planit will be accessible from all sides to the earth dweller, who will be able to be in it and on top of it.'[1108] In this manner Malevich's architecture would be able to transform itself into an embodiment of the Jungian 'archetype of transcendence', and hence facilitate psychological healing.

Drawings and documentary photographs of the *arkhitektoniki* demonstrate at least four modes of progression in their development. First Malevich designed a symmetrical 'basilica' format, reminiscent of an Orthodox church, with a cruciform formation being created by a long vertical axis crossed by smaller supplementary axes. Following this, he created the same 'basilica'-like shape but layered it with vertically heaped blocks, as in Malevich's *Future 'Planit' for Leningrad. Pilot's House*, (1924), (Fig. 160).[1109] The next stage demonstrates similar vertical thin structures but within them they include circular or other geometric formations, and become closer to practical architecture. The final progression revealed ultimately vertical structures.[1110] The models can be split into two groups, those which stood vertically and those which lay flat; he divided them into Alpha, Beta, Iota and Zeta. Malevich argued that the models were all originated from the dynamic movement of a cubic form in space. The movement of this form created dynamic variants in its shape, and thus the final architectural form with its rectangular and oblong shapes encapsulated this movement through space. By creating an architecture which paradoxically in its static form embodied dynamism and the sense of mystical flight, Malevich was able to transcend time and project an architecture of the future, one which facilitated the conscious apprehension and assimilation of unconscious motivations.[1111] As he states, "In my Suprematist architecture I visualise the beginning of a new art of building... Art always reveals the present as a synthesis of the entire past and future."[1112] Malevich was probably inspired by Khlebnikov's *Ourselves and Our Builders*, (?1920-1921), which required the construction of "mobile dwelling modules" whose function was to transport their inhabitants across the whole country and then plug themselves

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[1106] Milner, (1996): 190-2; Kovtun, (1981): 236.
[1107] Malevich, (1918): 64.
[1108] Golding, (2000): 80.
[1109] Malevich would bring his arkhitektons and planits together in an exhibition in June 1926. Ermolaeva, on viewing this exhibition told Larionov that the exhibits were assembled mystically with *Future 'Planit' for Leningrad. Pilot's House* acting as an 'altarpiece' over the whole ensemble. C.f. Gough, (2014): 162; V. Ermolaeva to M. Larionov, 17th July 1926. In *Avangard ostanovlennyi n begu [The Avant-Garde Cut Off in its Prime]* (1989), edited by E. Kovtun, E. Babanazarova & M. Favieva. Avrora, Leningrad: 7.
[1110] Milner, (1996): 192.
[1111] Andersen, (1970): 32.
[1112] K. Malevich, (Undated) "Piat Punktov" ["Five Points"]. In *Malevich*, (1970). Edited by T. Andersen. Stedelijk Museum Publications, Amsterdam: 36.

into "frameworks" to recharge.[1113] Such a conception may perhaps have been inspired by the 'primitive' notion that a certain part of the tribal dwelling place could act as an *axis mundi* by which the inhabitants might have the potential to transcend the earthly realm, a microcosmic portal to the macrocosmic universe. Malevich's 'plugged in' drawing of a blind *arkhitekton* to a Manhattan city-scape in a photomontage found in *Praesens* 1926, perhaps could be a modern expression of this symbolic traversal system, a fundamental Jungian 'transcendent archetype'.[1114]

Having established a dynamic architecture Malevich further imbued it with symbolism that implied the significance of its utopian import. If we look again at *Future Planit for Leningrad. Pilot's House* (1924), (Fig. 160), we can see that the drawing does not only take the formation of a crucifix, but also adds other crossing elements to resemble an aeroplane, which is suggested by the work's title, 'Pilot's House'. By fusing the aeroplane and the church formations Malevich's architecture embodies a spiritual flight, it forms a fundamental Jungian archetype, and actualises its transcendent status as a portal by which the soul-journey can be undertaken and cosmic psychic harmony can be achieved. The notion of harmony is further advocated in Malevich's system of proportion. For his building projections are entirely formed from individual blocks which are all related to one another through a mathematical proportional system. He frequently utilises Golden Section ratios between the structural elements which ultimately form the whole building. The Golden Section is a fundamental symbol of harmonious equilibrium, for the ancient mathematicians associated it with divinity; it divides the whole into parts so that the smaller parts relate to the larger parts in the same proportion as the larger parts relate to the whole. Consequently, any group of proportions constructed using the Golden Section will have a harmony of proportions that radiate through every part of it, no matter how complex the formation may be. Having established such a proportional system, Malevich could build structures with elements that were all proportionally related, which enabled a limitless diversity of designs to be explored. In addition, the scale of the individual parts could be reduced or increased an infinite number of times and still any visual expression of it could manifestly express the whole.[1115] In this manner Malevich mirrors the 'primitive' notion of microcosmic symbols, symbols which are used on the earthly plane to reference and attain the macrocosmic realms, thus his architecture can act as a microcosmic means to access the macro-cosmos. As a result Malevich's 'planets' revealed themselves to be 'utopian' forms that had actualised the

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[1113] C.f. V. Khlebnikov, (?1920-1921). "Ourselves and Our Buildings". In *Khlebnikov, The King of Time: Selected Writings of the Russian Futurian*. Edited by C. Douglas, translated by P. Schmidt. Harvard University Press, Cambridge: 134-137.
[1114] Gough, (2014): 162.
[1115] Milner, (1996): 192-4.

desire for a "harmonious introduction…into natural processes", and encapsulated cosmic psychic harmony, by acting as the means to which this therapeutic equilibrium might be achieved.[1116]

Overall it is evident that the ultimate aim of the radical aesthetics established by the Russian avant-garde at this time is one of pre-figured Jungian healing. Healing achieved at both an individual level and at a universal one. Individual healing would be brought about through a spiritual, therapeutic transformation of the viewer, based on the psychological and underlying restorative characteristics inherent in their art work. While universal healing would be brought about through the necessity of a social and cultural psychic regeneration, one which stemmed from the power of a modern artistic expression imbued with the mysticism of archaic ideology and practise, the apotheosis of which was the facilitation of cosmic equilibrium, a universal psychological harmony governed by spiritual mysticism. The avant-garde appear to pre-figure this Jungian conception to actualise their fundamental therapeutic mission as it appeared to best express their overall psychic needs. Indeed, having anticipated the Jungian crisis of psychic dislocation, they sought a language of universal spiritual archetypes which would facilitate unconscious access and expression to the conscious, and would stimulate psychological healing through the apprehension and assimilation of these unconscious desires. In their eclectic use of 'primitive' and modern sources they found both the best visual expression of the 'archaic spiritual language of nature', and the fundamental focus on universal healing, a healing defined by equilibrium, which they equated with the global necessity of psychological holism achieved through the reunification of the consciousness. The artists utilised 'primitive' ideology and iconography to actualise their healing mission in several different ways. Firstly, through the utilisation of the 'medicine-book' convention, this enabled both Kandinsky and Goncharova to work within an established ameliorative tradition, to strengthen its therapeutic properties by the use of other archaic artistic practises, and by the conflation of motifs, to create an archetypal therapeutic language. In addition, the avant-garde appear to reflect the aesthetic conventions of ritualistic idols so that they might imbue their works with the regenerative qualities connected to such artefacts and traditions. Finally, the avant-garde sought to establish an artistic rhetoric which would facilitate cosmic psychic equilibrium, the culmination of their messianic healing mission. This is evidenced in the development of the idealised peasant landscape, the symbolic

[1116] Douglas, (1994): 27.

abstract language, the self-reformation inspired by Analytical Art, the timeless archetypes of *Vsechestvo*, and the construction of utopian industrialisation.

CONCLUSION

"If all artists could see the crossroads of these celestial paths, if they could comprehend these monstrous runways and the weaving of our bodies with the clouds in the sky, then they would not paint chrysanthemums," thus declared Malevich, a testament to the cosmic significance of the artistic vision of the Russian avant-garde at this time.[1117] This thesis set out to demonstrate that the Russian avant-garde anticipated Jung's crisis of psychic dislocation and aimed to rectify it through an archetypal expression which had the capacity to stimulate psychic reunification. It has aimed to take the reader on the journey of the febrile shamanic neophyte, Jung's quintessential metaphor for his journey to psychological holism. First as he encounters mystical phenomena, through the evocation of universalism found in the principle and illustration of *dvoeverie*, to the acceptance of his newfound mystical role, in the manner in which the avant-garde saw themselves as Jungian 'shamanic' prophets and began to 'shamanise', by both redefining the figure of the artist and by embodying a archetypal role. Then, having embodied this role, how the avant-garde embarked upon the ecstatic soul-journey, through its ritualistic enactment, mystical traversing of the cosmos, and their innovative illustration of a hyper-real cosmic realm. Finally to culminate in the Jung's ultimate telos, universal healing and the establishment of cosmic psychic equilibrium, expressed through the use of an iconographic symbolic and therapeutic language, and through psychologically imbuing their art with a philanthropic, medicinal significance. In this manner this thesis has made a distinctive contribution to the art historical field. For, inspired by the shamanic exploration begun most notably by Peg Weiss, it has examined the re-emergence of shamanic sensibilities in greater depth, covering a broader range of artists, and in a comparative manner, encompassing Jungian conclusions on the crisis of modernity, and thus providing a significant reinterpretation of Russian avant-garde art. Such a conception which unites the Russian avant-garde with an anthropological perspective is also of current importance, given the recent exhibitions which have begun to demonstrate the link between shamanism, orientalism and Russian twentieth century art, demonstrating the fundamental value of this innovative interpretation in art historical literature.

[1117] K. Malevich, (1915). "Iskusstvo savazha i ego printsip" ["The Art of the Savage and its Principle"]. In *K.S. Malevich: Essays on Art 1915-1933*. (1968), edited by T. Andersen, and translated by X. Glowacki-Prus. Vol. 1. Borgen, Copenhagen: 29.

This thesis began by establishing the context in which the Russian avant-garde were practising their craft, a context which was darkened by a widespread disillusionment with the 'enlightened' modern condition, and a fertile environment for the resurgence of belief in the fundamental spiritualism of archaic 'primitive' traditions. The evocation of the 'primitive' was widespread throughout avant-garde practise in Europe, but in Russia the significance of their own archaic heritage, including shamanism, was to become apparent through the growth in interest, and subsequently, the import placed on ethnographic and anthropological explorations, and the influx of artefacts into the state museums. This was coupled with an increase in academic literature published on the ideology and ritualistic practises of archaic religions. Such an increase in interest stemmed from Russia's confused national identity during this period. Exacerbated by her vast land mass, on the one hand, she associated herself with the advancements of Western modernism, but on the other she still held onto the traditional spiritual values and 'primitive' practises of the East. Those contributing to Russia's cultural heritage found themselves in the paradoxical position of postulating a social critique against the Russian government's Westernisation, and its attempt to assimilate Eastern cultures into a 'modern' Russia by elevating and referencing the 'primitive', whilst at the same time in this reference they signified a veritable representation of their Eastern, savage self.

It was largely this notion which inspired the Jungian perspective chosen, for it embodied almost exactly Jung's subsequent conception and solution for the crisis of 'psychic dislocation', an apparent detrimental modern condition. As we have seen, Jung argued that modern man's consciousness had become dislocated due to the advanced rationalising of his conscious as a result of the Enlightenment, a progression which meant that man's conscious had lost its crucial alignment with the unconscious. The unconscious subsequently struggled to reassert itself through producing collective archetypal images, manifested in dreams and other psychic episodes, which utilised the 'archaic language of nature' to remind man of his inherent spiritualism, a condition intrinsic to 'primitive' man, and his primal alliance with nature. The artist's choice to elevate and reference the 'primitive' acts as a signifier of their split consciousness, their awareness of their condition, and their significant attempt to reunify the consciousness, as through their art they both aided the unconscious' quest, and developed their own and their viewer's psychic faculties, as a means of facilitating global psychological healing. The avant-garde seemed to find the parallel to their psychic mission in the ideology and imagery of 'primitive' religion, including shamanism, for it fulfilled the unconscious' collective archetypes with symbolic visual symbols, and the overarching aim of cosmic equilibrium mirrored both the experience of psychic holism, and the capacity to outwardly project the unconscious, a capacity

required to actualise a reunified consciousness. Indeed, as we have seen, Jung himself utilised shamanism as a model for his psychological theories. This thesis thus attempted to engage with this context, and with both the primary and secondary literature on the subject, to demonstrate the re-emergence of the shamanic sensibilities amongst the Russian avant-garde in the period 1900-1933.

The aim of the first chapter was to demonstrate how the Russian avant-garde's expression of *dvoeverie* illustrated the influence of 'primitive' religion, including shamanism, on their artistic *oeuvres*. This was shown through analysing the avant-garde's use of the artistic expressions and ideological principles of archaic artefacts, folk art, icons and Finno-Ugric mythological lore. Thus Larionov's and Goncharova's Neo-Primitivism initially was discussed, alongside case studies which combined elements taken from ritualistic artefacts, specifically the *kamennaia baba*, folk art, particularly the 'primitive' execution of the *lubok* print, and the icon object, focusing on its capacity to inspire transcendence. Following this, Kandinsky's and Filonov's utilisation of Finno-Ugric myth was examined in specific case-studies, such as Kandinsky's *Motley Life* (1907), and the 1933 edition of the *Kalevala* illustrated by the Filonov School. It was argued that the multi-faceted sources of 'primitive' religion provided an esoteric context, and most fundamentally, a symbolic ideology and imagery infused with archaic spiritualism, which acted as a visual metaphor for Jung's unconscious expression of collective archetypes, the essential prerequisite for the reunification of the consciousness. In utilising 'primitive' ideology and imagery, the avant-garde were able to use the principle of *dvoeverie* as a means to facilitate psychological healing through their visual expression of collective unconscious archetypes. Such a concept can be seen in the artists' utilisation of an array of 'primitive' sources to create works which were executed in a style defined by its overarching Jungian aim, the creation of a universal language, whose archetypal symbols transcended time and tradition to stimulate a sense of psychic holism.

Chapter two analysed how the Russian avant-garde conflated the figure of the artist with that of Jung's metaphorical shaman, and how they assumed pre-figured Jungian qualities as they formulated their modern identity. The chapter considered specifically how the artists redefined their role to mirror that of Jung's shaman, and how they revealed their own self-fulfilment of this archetypal role in their artistic writings, their painterly execution, and in the ways in which they behaved in society. The chapter argued that the Russian avant-garde redefined the artist of the modern era to become more obviously shaman-like as it enabled them to best express their anticipation of Jung's solution to his condition of 'psychic dislocation'. An eclectic mix of

'primitive' and modern sources provided them with significant imagery and symbolism with which to embody the collective unconscious archetypes required to facilitate psychological healing. Those which Jung subsequently defined as universal spiritual images expressing the experience of transcendence and of initiation, as well as elucidating an emblematic 'heroic' figure on which to model oneself. This was shown firstly by their endurance of experiences reminiscent of the ecstatic and didactic initiatory process undertaken by the neophyte candidates of many mystical phenomena. Such sentiments were seen in the writings and art work of Kandinsky, Malevich and Filonov. These experiences enabled the avant-garde to discover the curative archetypal properties of their own artistic aesthetic, and the necessity of didacticism, pedagogically stimulating cultural salvation through the knowledge and practise of their art. It revealed their attraction to the mystical religious figures, and their need to embody such a role as they defined their innovative artistic modernism. Hence the chapter examined how the artists began to embody the Jungian 'shamanic role', either through their self-identification with a characteristically archetypal figure, an embodiment of Jung's heroic transcendental archetype, such as the Ouspsenskian 'super-aviator', St George or Venus, or by utilising their own theoretical ideals to literally express the archetypal undertones of their artistic mission. This was shown through analysing the writings and art work of all five artists to reveal not only their adoption of a specific, symbolic persona, but also how the persona adopted by each artist was permeated with Jungian qualities. In this embodiment, they demonstrated their inherently psychic motivations, as they had now transformed themselves into Jungian heroic and transcendental archetypes, and began to utilise their newfound psychic capabilities to stimulate a reunified consciousness. Finally, the chapter considered how Goncharova and Larionov utilised their bodies as canvases, specifically through face and body painting, for their ultimately archetypal aesthetic, and how this coupled with their mystical, provocative conduct revealed the extent of their self-embodiment of Jung's 'shamanic' figure, and its capacity to facilitate global psychological healing.

The third chapter aimed to demonstrate how the Russian avant-garde utilised their art to express experiences associated with the shamanic soul-journey as a means of creating transcendent archetypal expression. The chapter demonstrated how the Russian avant-garde utilised their art in order to express such a mystical experience, the sensation of entering and perceiving noumenal 'unconscious' realms. In this expression they created archetypal images which embodied Jung's 'archetype of transcendence', and manifestly projected their unconscious motivations. The chapter was divided into three parts to convey a sense of the mystical stages which comprise such a voyage. First the artists created an aesthetic which was imbued with the

essential, mystical symbolism required to facilitate ecstatic ritual. The plastic elements of art were permeated with transcendental power, they were enlivened with spiritual anima; hence they became 'transcendent archetypes', and they served roles akin to the drum and chant of mystical ritual, including Siberian shamanism. This was shown through analysing the writing and art work of Kandinsky in relation to the symbolic capacity of ritualistic drumming, and by considering the implications of contemporary Russian literature, such as the trans-rational *zaum* of Khlebnikov and Kruchenykh, on the work of all five artists. Then, having induced an 'altered-state-of-consciousness' in their viewer, Larionov and Malevich created works which conveyed the sense of mystical voyage, a traversal into the higher 'unconscious' dimensions, capturing the sense of flight and ritual ecstasy, and creating archetypal images stimulating unconscious access and expression. This was shown through examining Larionov's *An Imaginary Voyage to Turkey* series, and the development of Malevich's Aerial Suprematism. Subsequently, the avant-garde formulated an aesthetic which utilised fourth-dimensional and psychological theory to allegorically incite the experience of entering and perceiving cosmic 'unconscious' noumena, shown in Larionov's and Goncharova's Rayist aesthetic, Filonov's formulaic and 'flowering' canvases and Kandinsky's redefinition of painting to include duration of time and extension of space. Finally, the Russian avant-garde took the syncretic conception of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* as a means to express the amalgamation and cohesion of psychic holism, a notion demonstrated through the analysis of the case studies: *Der Gelbe Klang* (1912), *Pobeda nad solntsem* (1913), *L'Oiseau de Feu* (1926) and *Le Sacre du Printemps*, (1913). Thus, having visually expressed and induced the experience of the Jungian 'shamanic' soul-journey, and having enabled the viewer to apprehend and assimilate the mystical dimension of noumenal 'unconscious' cosmic realms, the avant-garde were on the brink of actualising the ultimate Jungian telos of their artistic vision, healing through spiritual psychic transformation, and the establishment of an overall cosmic harmony, the actualisation of psychic reunification.

The final chapter examined the fundamental telos of Jung's ideology, the establishment of universal psychic healing through the reunification of the consciousness. The chapter demonstrated that the ultimate aim of the radical art of the Russian avant-garde in the early twentieth century was one of pre-figured Jungian healing. Healing at both an individual level, through the spiritual psychic transformation of the viewer, achieved through the restorative properties and psychological power of the artists' *oeuvres*, and by extension healing of the whole universe, through the expression and hence facilitation of cosmic psychic equilibrium, achieved through an artistic rhetoric whose inherent universalism came from the power of its symbolic expression, a modern transcendental archetypal aesthetic imbued with the unconscious

mysticism of archaic ideology and ritualistic practice. The artists appear to express their pre-figured Jungian aim in several ways. Firstly, through their employment of the 'medicine-book' convention, a practice which enabled Goncharova and Kandinsky to work within an established therapeutic tradition, strengthening its ameliorative capacities by the conflation of symbolic motifs found in other artistic practices to create a uniformly ameliorative language which could facilitate psychological healing. A device mirrored by Larionov in his attempt to imbue the avant-garde book with a therapeutic function by depicting archetypal iconography, practices and myths as his illustrations. Further, Filonov, Malevich and Goncharova began to employ aesthetic conventions strikingly akin to those of shamanic and other 'primitive' idols in the execution of their protagonists in order that they might permeate their art with the mystical symbolism and psychic regenerative properties associated with such artefacts. They could utilise their art to strengthen the ego and to outwardly express the unconscious, hence stimulating a reunified consciousness. This was shown through the analysis of specific case studies, such as Filonov's *Beasts (Animals)* (1925-26) and Malevich's *Woman at Prayer* (1910-11), which appear to visually express the use of such aesthetic conventions. Finally, the avant-garde sought to provide an artistic language which had the capacity to express and facilitate cosmic equilibrium, the allegorical expression of psychic holism and the apotheosis of their messianic mission. This was achieved in the Neo-primitive expression, the portrayal of an idealised peasant rural idyll, the development of the therapeutic, transcendental abstract language, the self-reformation achieved through the persistence of Analytical Art, the timeless archetypal symbolism of *Vsechestvo*, and the construction of a utopian industrialised landscape. In this manner the artists firmly asserted their psychic healing telos, executed in a Jungian archetypal language.

In addition to examining the re-emergence of shamanic sensibilities on the Russian avant-garde during the period 1900-1933, this thesis also attempts to account for the reasons why the these artists should create such radical, innovative artwork which referenced 'primitive' ideology, iconography and practise. What was the significance of this all-embracing phenomenon for this generation of artists? Traditionally, art history has accounted for Russian artistic modernism largely in terms of a perceived rejection of the strictures of bourgeois aesthetic conventions, a fundamental rejection of the modern 'Enlightened' perspective, and consequently, an overall rejection of a culture defined by its disillusioned materialism. Meanwhile, the artists also wanted to signify the merits of their new generation by presenting a shocking aesthetic which made a provocative radical statement about their innovation. This was achieved by rediscovery and renewal, a Nietzschean rediscovery of the self and self-expression, and a cultural rediscovery of a national heritage which appeared to be drowning in Western values. Thus the

aesthetics of the ancient Russian peoples were given a renewed expression, and combined with, however loathed, the advancements of Western modern art.

Yet this interpretation does not fully answer the question of why these artists turned towards the 'primitive' to inspire their artistic expression. It is Jung, some fifty years later, who perhaps provides the solution to the avant-garde's radical choice of subject and source material. The necessity for the cultural healing of a fundamentally flawed society whose dislocated consciousness has led to a perilous psychological fracture throughout culture, one which, without regaining contact with the spiritual 'primitive', is in danger of never recovering. The artists of the Russian avant-garde took up a pre-figured Jungian mantle to address this situation; it became their messianic mission to heal culture through the medium of their art. In 'primitive' culture they discovered powerful metaphors which spoke to their experience of contemporary culture as flawed, broken and 'sick'. A culture, whose dislocated soul needed to be returned to it. They saw themselves as shaman-like figures, who through their artistic expression might be able to provide the healing which was so desperately needed. Thus the significance of the Russian avant-garde's radical artistic venture has become clear. They yearned to create an aesthetic imbued with the mystical ameliorative qualities of 'primitive' cultures, in order to heal a society whose conscious dislocation from the spiritual 'primitive' had left it with a severe psychological fracture, the depth of which had disrupted the equilibrium of the universe. Somewhat perversely, Jung would argue that modern art, despite its ameliorative expression of the unconscious 'archaic language of nature', and the artists' apparent capacity to outwardly project their unconscious motivations, hence facilitating the psychic ability to apprehend and assimilate unconscious desires, actually may not have the supreme therapeutic power which the avant-garde desired. Indeed, Jung argues that the modernist experiment in art is an expression of an already 'dislocated spirit', and thus acts as a symbol of the psychological condition of the world.[1118] However, this cannot undermine the significance of the Russian avant-garde's artistic mission, and it is through addressing these questions and re-interpreting the art of the Russian avant-garde in this manner, that this thesis has made a distinct contribution to the art historical field.

In conclusion, this thesis has demonstrated the re-emergence of shamanic sensibilities amongst the Russian avant-garde in the early twentieth century, and has explored the significance of this re-emergence at the iconographical and ideological levels as well as at the level of artistic practice. It has explained the significance of this re-emergence within a Jungian frame of reference by advancing a psychological explanation to account for the widespread appeal of the

[1118] Jaffé, (1964): 257, 317.

shamanic approach amongst the avant-garde. This represents an innovative and fruitful art-historical approach to this particular field of study. Furthermore, this thesis demonstrates that a pre-figured Jungian conception provided the Russian avant-garde in the early twentieth century with a powerful metaphor for understanding the crisis of modernity both for the individual and for wider society. It offered the Russian avant-garde a way of addressing this crisis by using the medium of their art as a means to heal a perceived psychic divide created by the legacy of Enlightenment thinking as it was mediated in early twentieth century Europe. Thus this thesis is innovative, since it configures the wider socio-political and economic problem facing the Russian avant-garde in broader cultural and psychological terms, and it explores Jungian psychology as the solution to the contemporary crisis that these artists perceived. In configuring artistic debates in Russia in the early years of the twentieth century in this way, this thesis revises our understanding of abstraction and primitivism as well as the role that artists envisaged for it. As a result, this thesis contests Modernist approaches to the art of the Russian avant-garde, which explains abstraction and primitivism in terms of the artists' engagement with what Greenberg calls 'self-criticism' and an attempt to engage in the autonomy of art.[1119] In this view the remarkable pictorial conclusions embraced by the Russian avant-garde in the early twentieth century are understood and valued only as a means of divorcing art from the context in which it was created, and as a means of reflecting upon the creation of 'pure art' engaging only in a celebration of the formal qualities of painting liberated from any descriptive or referential function beyond itself. This thesis proposes that, on the contrary, the work of the Russian avant-garde was deeply inscribed by and responded to the context in which it was created. Moreover, in addition to contesting Modernist narratives of artistic development, this thesis qualifies and extends the now dominant socio-historical account of Russian avant-garde painting in the twentieth century, by understanding and valuing the Russian art of the period through the lens of Jungian psychology which offered the artist the mantle of cultural healer and which permitted him, through a rupture backwards, to think of the art work as a kind of mediator, a shaman's drum which could minister social, political, economic, cultural, spiritual and psychic healing and would "bear man's multiple soul to the upper reaches of reality."[1120]

[1119] C. Greenberg, (1965). "Modernist Painting". In *Modern Art and Modernism: A Critical Anthology*, 1982, edited by F. Frascina, & C. Harrison. SAGE, London: 5-10.
[1120] Zdanevich & Larionov, (1913): 118.

APPENDIX 1

A transcript of a cylinder recording found in a storeroom at Hotel du Prince, Geneva, between Rerikh, Diaghilev, Nijinsky and Stavinsky which discusses the creative ideas of Act 1, *Le Sacre du Printemps*, (1913). C.f. P. Griffiths, (2013). "The Rite of Spring: The Untold Story". *New York Arts*, May 29.

RERIKH:	…and then one of the elders comes out from the group and we realize that he is the shaman of the tribe and at this point —
DIAGHILEV:	Shaman?
RERIKH:	Yes, and at this point he looks up —
DIAGHILEV:	Shaman is what, exactly?
RERIKH:	He's the priest, if you like, the intermediary between our little world of mere human beings and the vast realm of spirits and gods and probably natural essences, like water, or tree, or —
DIAGHILEV:	Go on.
RERIKH:	I got this from an actual shaman I met one time when I was traveling to the north of Irkutsk – extraordinary fellow, he must have been fully ninety, and he had on this strange headdress —
DIAGHILEV:	He looks up.
RERIKH:	No, he held me in his gaze, and his eyes were startlingly clear, despite —
DIAGHILEV:	In the ballet he looks up.

RERIKH:	Oh, in the ballet, yes, in the ballet he looks up, and he starts to make these extraordinary movements —
NIJINSKY:	What movements?
DIAGHILEV:	Quiet, Slava.
NIJINSKY:	He spoke about movements!
DIAGHILEV:	Quiet, Slava. Go on, Nikolay Konstantinovich.
RERIKH:	He starts to make these —
DIAGHILEV:	By the way, where is our dear composer? (*Silence.*) Why is it composers never know the time? (*Silence.*) Go on, Nikolay Konstantinovich.
RERIKH:	He starts to make —
DIAGHILEV:	She.
RERIKH:	I said "he."
DIAGHILEV:	She. This is a woman's role. Go on.
RERIKH:	She starts to make these extraordinary —
STRAVINSKY(*bursting in*):	Sergey Pavlovich, forgive me. Slava. Nikolay Konstantinovich. I was lunching with La Polignac and you know how she simply gobbles up one's time.
DIAGHILEV:	And, I hope, pays you substantially for it.

STRAVINSKY:	Anyway, where were we?
DIAGHILEV:	We were discussing how this woman —
STRAVINSKY:	What woman?
DIAGHILEV:	The priestess, or something —
RERIKH:	Shaman.
DIAGHILEV:	Whatever, how she…. What was it she does, Nikolay Konstantinovich?
RERIKH:	She is divining, with twigs.
DIAGHILEV:	Twigs.
RERIKH:	Yes, twigs.
DIAGHILEV:	Go on.
RERIKH:	It was a practice our ancestors inherited from the ancient Scythians —
STRAVINSKY:	If I may interpose, Sergey Pavlovich, the whole function of this episode is rhythmic. It's a matter of how to interrelate a steady pulse – with changing accents, of course – and sporadic figures in a faster tempo, when —
DIAGHILEV:	Play it for us, Igor Fyodorovich. Play it for us.

STRAVINSKY:	Of course.
STRAVINSKY *starts to play the "Augurs of Spring" from his score. After thirty seconds* DIAGHILEV *interrupts him and he stops mid-measure.*	
DIAGHILEV:	Tell me, Igor Fyodorovich, does it go on for long like this?
STRAVINSKY:	Just as far as the mass abduction, my dear. Shall I ring for tea?

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